
The Johns Hopkins University

Institute for Policy Studies

**NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS OF HOPE VI:
EVIDENCE FROM BALTIMORE**

Prepared by

*Introduction to Policy Analysis Students
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FOREWORD

This report was prepared by graduate students in Introduction to Policy Analysis, a course I teach in the graduate program in public policy at Johns Hopkins each fall. I always devote a significant segment of the course to the examination of a timely policy issue facing Baltimore. Last fall, we looked at the effects of five of Baltimore's public housing redevelopment--or "HOPE VI"--projects on their surrounding neighborhoods. While neighborhood impacts have not been the main focus of the nationwide HOPE VI public housing revitalization program, the large scale rebuilding that is occurring at each site lead many to expect--and hope for--beneficial effects not only on the public housing units and their residents, but on the surrounding neighborhoods.

The next few pages show how I set up this hypothetical policy analysis problem: a memorandum from Mayor Martin O'Malley to Paul Graziano, Commissioner of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City. The Mayor asks for an assessment of whether the city's HOPE VI redevelopments are providing spillover benefits on the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods, and what steps might be taken to create such positive spillovers in the future.

Last December, the students presented their preliminary findings to an audience of policymakers, representatives of community-based organizations and local foundations, Johns Hopkins faculty, and Baltimore residents. Members of the audience offered excellent insights during that session, and the students have done their best in this report to respond to the questions and suggestions raised at their presentation.

The report indicates that although the marked improvement in the physical conditions of the public housing developments has not extended to adjacent neighborhoods, these nearby neighborhoods experienced increases in property values and economic activity, and an improved image, and these benefits were plausibly related to the HOPE VI intervention. Whether these positive effects will be sustained, and whether other positive effects emerge as the redevelopments mature, remain to be seen. Among the factors that appear to be associated with positive neighborhood effects are the "footprint" of the development (i.e., how far it extends into the surrounding neighborhoods), the availability of supportive services to both public housing and neighborhood residents, and the involvement of neighborhood-based organizations. Identifying these, and other, apparent correlates of positive spillovers could benefit future redevelopment efforts in Baltimore, and beyond.

Sandra J. Newman

April 2003

**HYPOTHETICAL CLASS ASSIGNMENT
MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM IN PUBLIC POLICY
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES**

September 17, 2002

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Graziano, Commissioner
Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC)

FROM: Mayor Martin O'Malley

RE: Neighborhood Effects of HOPE VI:
Evidence from Baltimore

I am delighted that Baltimore has won several competitive HOPE VI grants to redevelop the city's worst public housing. Beyond addressing the urgent need to re-create these settings into decent and safe living environments of choice, these major redevelopment projects have the potential for significantly strengthening whole neighborhoods, which, as you know, is one of my top priorities.

I recognize that neighborhood impacts have not been the main focus of the HOPE VI program. But several elements of HOPE VI lead me to expect beneficial effects not only on the public housing units and their residents, but on the surrounding neighborhoods (e.g., increased property values, reduced crime). A first set of elements characterize the HOPE VI intervention itself, including: (1) the large-scale physical rebuilding at each site; (2) the introduction of mixed-income populations to the public housing developments; (3) the inclusion of homeownership units in the redevelopment; (4) the goal of reduced isolation of residents; and (5) the stepped up supportive services for residents. It seems to me these features should produce positive spillovers on the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood and perhaps its adjacent neighborhoods.

I also noted with interest the evolution in the annual legislative statement of purpose for HOPE VI from the program's inception to the present. The early statements made no mention of "neighborhood effects," but starting in the late 1990s, this purpose was made explicit: "to contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood "...and..."build sustainable communities."¹ Finally, the more than \$150 million in federal funding we have received for five of our HOPE VI sites,² combined with the additional capital being leveraged, should also generate at least some neighborhood spin-offs.

The recent Bipartisan Millennial Housing Commission report³ declares that HOPE VI "...has made significant progress in revitalizing distressed public housing and surrounding neighborhoods" (emphasis added). Are we ready to make the same declaration in Baltimore? According to the conventional

¹Federal Register (2002). Docket No. FR-4768-N-01. July 31. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

²Lafayette Courts, Lexington Terrace, Flag House, Broadway Homes, and Murphy Homes.

³Bipartisan Millennial Housing Commission (2002). Meeting Our Nation's Housing Challenges. Retrieved August 12, 2002 from www.mhc.gov/mhcreport.pdf

wisdom, public housing developments are assumed to bring down neighborhoods. Can we demonstrate that, on the contrary, our HOPE VI sites are serving as catalysts for neighborhood renewal?

I'd like you and your staff to spend the next few months examining whether our HOPE VI redevelopment efforts are providing measurable spillover benefits on the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood as well as adjacent neighborhoods, and whether there are modifications in our current approach to HOPE VI or additional steps we could be taking in conjunction with HOPE VI to ensure positive spin-off effects. Do your best to address whether any effects you detect can reasonably be attributed to the HOPE VI intervention as opposed to other factors. Focus your work on the following five HOPE VI sites: Lafayette Courts; Lexington Terrace; Flag House; Broadway Homes; and Murphy Homes.

[PART I]

Theories and Empirical Evidence of Neighborhood Effects

The HOPE VI program was influenced by the work of social policy analysts, architects and planners. These writings offer theories or hypotheses for why living in a mixed-income development, for example, could have beneficial effects on low-income residents, and the mechanisms at work.⁴ This is the traditional way in which social scientists have defined “neighborhood effects.” But these theories can be extended to the sort of neighborhood effects I'm most interested in, namely, the effects of the redevelopment on the surrounding neighborhoods.

. To set the framework for your analysis, begin with a review of the extended version of the theories offered for four key elements of the program: (1) creating mixed-income developments; (2) including homeownership units in the redevelopment; (3) eliminating high-rise buildings and applying “new urbanism” design principles; and (4) reducing the isolation of public housing residents.

. Which theories are supported by empirical evidence? Where is empirical evidence weak, negative, or nonexistent?

[PART II]

Analysis of Neighborhood Effects

Indicators of Neighborhood Effects

Using homeownership as an example, the following framework should help you to identify the neighborhood characteristics to study. Homeowners might contribute to increased property values in a neighborhood because owners have a financial and often psychological stake in their residences. This may convey such benefits as greater home upkeep and capital improvements, greater residential stability, greater neighborhood involvement (e.g., voicing concerns about city service delivery or quality), and positive ripple effects on neighboring properties (a “keeping up with the Jones” effect) and even neighbors (e.g., social norms of behavior).

While I've probably not exhausted all possible theories of the beneficial effects of homeownership on neighborhoods, even this set of theories indicates that, at a minimum, you would want to examine the following neighborhood features:

⁴For example, if researchers have found that mixed-income neighborhoods exhibit lower levels of social problems than those where most residents are poor, do they explain *how* this occurs (e.g., interaction with role models? networking that leads to job contacts? political clout of higher-income groups?)

- . property values or some other measure of housing values;
- . state of repair, maintenance and upkeep;
- . residential stability;
- . civic participation;
- . social norms (e.g., graffiti; vandalism; crime).

Virtually every item on this list suggests several additional attributes that should also be examined, ranging from population characteristics to school performance. For simplicity, please organize these attributes into several categories. Here's a first stab at the categories I'm interested in and the sorts of characteristics I'd like to see on each (this list is suggestive, not exhaustive):

1. Demographics and Socioeconomic Characteristics: changes in the number of residents; households; household type (i.e., households with children, non-elderly and childless, and elderly); household size; female-headed families with children (by age of mother); age of head of household; and racial composition; income; welfare receipt; employment rates; earnings.

2. Physical Environment: changes in the quality of the neighborhood (e.g., level of abandonment; demolition of substandard buildings; quality of the housing stock; presence of parks or other nonresidential land uses; upkeep; street furniture such as lighting and benches).

3. Social Environment: changes in residential stability; neighborliness; social trust; social interaction; level of civic engagement; social activities; participation; presence and growth in neighborhood-based organizations and community development corporations; strength and effectiveness of these organizations.

4. Economic Activity: changes in type and number of business activities including retail; number and type of jobs; residential building and rehabilitation; other private sector investments.

5. Crime: changes in crime activity; perceived safety. (Include changes in both the public housing development as well as the neighborhoods.)

6. School Quality: changes in standardized test scores; high school dropout rates.

7. Image: changes in perceptions of the neighborhood and its reputation (e.g., media descriptions; common perceptions).

You may be wondering why I have asked you to include three HOPE VI sites that have not yet broken ground on their redevelopment plans (Broadway Homes, Flag House, Murphy Homes). My reasoning is that it is at least possible that knowledge of the multi-million dollar investment soon to occur in each of these sites could already be generating changes in the neighborhoods (an “announcement effect”). This part of the analysis could also indicate whether we need to make mid-course corrections.

Methods

I recognize that no research design currently exists that could generate definitive “proof” that HOPE VI *caused* any improvements you may detect. Do your best to account for other factors that could produce the effects you observe (e.g., welfare reform; city actions; economic climate).

I expect that much of your research will be inductive: generating insights by studying changes in a wide range of characteristics in the immediate HOPE VI neighborhoods and adjacent neighborhoods. But even a well-designed, largely inductive study, when based on rich data and a solid analysis, should

tell us whether it is plausible to view HOPE VI as contributing to improvement (or at least not fostering neighborhood deterioration).

At a minimum, please include the following sources of data:

- (a) **Census and Administration Data:** These will be indispensable in all aspects of your analysis, from characterizing the population in the HOPE VI and adjacent neighborhoods to identifying neighborhood impacts. This analysis requires both a snapshot and an analysis of changes over time (e.g., 1990-2000, 1980-1990, etc.);
- (b) **Interviews and discussions:** Because I am certain you will not find “hard” data on all the topics to be covered, you will need to conduct interviews to fill gaps. For example, shopkeepers and residents may be the best sources of information about changes in the retail establishments in the neighborhood, while knowledgeable observers outside the neighborhoods can discuss neighborhood image and reputation. To ensure that you arrive at a balanced view, it is essential that you interview a wide range of individuals both within, and outside, the neighborhood;
- (c) **On-site observations:** Observations are another method for filling data gaps and are often essential for characterizing aspects of the physical environment.

Conclusions and Implications

- . Is HOPE VI generating positive neighborhood spillover effects?
 - . Are these effects more--or less--likely to occur in neighborhoods with particular characteristics? For example, did you observe positive spillovers on neighborhoods that initially were severely distressed?
 - . Are certain components of the HOPE VI program more closely related to positive spillovers than others (e.g., physical redevelopment; supportive services to tenants; tenancy requirements; mix of incomes; amount or proportion of owned units; management practices; social interaction). Which seem to be the most important components?
 - . To what extent do “positive” neighborhood effects actually mean “slower decline” instead of absolute improvement?
 - . Is there any evidence of *negative* neighborhood effects? What is the nature of these effects? How can these be abated or eliminated?
- . What recommendations do you have to modify HOPE VI to increase or strengthen its positive neighborhood effects?
 - . One point of view in the debate about HOPE VI is a concern that investments in distressed public housing neighborhoods would be “throwing good money after bad,” implying that such neighborhoods are beyond recovery. Does your analysis confirm or refute this position?
 - . HUD has not developed a set of performance standards for the HOPE VI program. Based on your analysis of neighborhood effects in Baltimore, are there some standards we should recommend?

We'll have weekly meetings on the project over the next few months. I've also scheduled a formal briefing on your research and findings for **Tuesday, December 10 at 9:30 a.m.**

CONTRIBUTORS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the early 1990s, the HOPE VI initiative emerged as a way to address the severe social and physical problems plaguing high-rise public housing. HOPE VI replaces the high-rises with low-rise, mixed income developments that include homeownership units. The New Urbanism and other theories underlying HOPE VI suggest that the new developments would be more resistant to the damaging pathologies that had become endemic to the high-rise communities.

The purpose of this study was to explore whether the effects of five HOPE VI redevelopments in Baltimore extended to their immediate and surrounding neighborhoods--so called "spillover effects." These sites are: (1) Pleasant View Gardens; (2) The Townes at the Terraces; (3) Heritage Crossing; (4) Broadway Overlook; and (5) Flag House Courts. Using a mixed-method design and both quantitative and qualitative data, we examined such potential spillover effects as the quality of the physical environment, economic activity, the social environment, crime rates, and image. For the two fully-constructed developments, we used a pre-post comparison, investigating these neighborhoods before, and after, the implementation of the HOPE VI program. For the other three neighborhoods that are in varying stages of completion, we examined both the effect that the transition period between demolition and rebuilding has had on the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods, and whether, in anticipation of HOPE VI funding, there have been any neighborhood effects motivated by the announcement of the funding. We also compared changes in HOPE VI neighborhoods to changes in the city of Baltimore as a whole, to account for external factors operating during the same time period as the HOPE VI program, such as changes in the economic climate and welfare reform.

Key findings include:

- Pleasant View Gardens. The redevelopment of Lafayette Courts to the Pleasant View Gardens has served as a catalyst for neighborhood renewal in minor ways. Consensus exists that the Pleasant View development itself is doing well, and evidence suggests that redevelopment has encouraged new investment in the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods. On the other hand, Douglass Homes, a nearby public housing development, was negatively affected by an influx of relocated Lafayette Courts residents. Merchants in Oldtown Mall lost some of their customer base, but may benefit in the long run from a proposed supermarket to be developed adjacent to the mall. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, an elementary school adjacent to Lafayette Courts, also experienced negative effects, closing in 2001, in part, because of decreased enrollment. City officials, real estate developers, and other experts agree that, in many ways, it is too soon to draw broad conclusions about spillover effects of Pleasant View Gardens. Further examination will likely show that while the redevelopment's health aids in the area's renewal, the development will be affected by the adjacent areas more than it affects them.

- The Townes at the Terraces. We did not see the effects of two underlying theories of HOPE VI, New Urbanism and income mixing, on demographic and socioeconomic indicators. The Terraces has not had positive spillover effects on population stabilization or unemployment rates, and has had limited effects on social trust and interaction in the adjacent neighborhoods. An increase in median income in The Terraces and adjacent neighborhoods upholds homeownership theories, as does an increase in the median sales price of residential property.

However, property crime rates increased across the area in the late 1990s, in contrast to a decline across Baltimore. Some evidence suggests that the removal of the high-rise Terraces had some influence on the University of Maryland's decision to cross Martin Luther King Boulevard with a new biotech development.

- Heritage Crossing. The effects of the transition from Murphy Homes to Heritage Crossing under the HOPE VI program appear to be almost solely limited to the 68 percent drop in population between 1990 and 2000 in the census tract encompassing the public housing development. This dramatic decline cannot be accounted for by the relocation of Murphy Homes residents, and exceeds the general population loss in Baltimore. The Heritage Crossing development is physically and psychologically isolated from the surrounding neighborhood. Image and public perception appear to have improved, though the spurt of economic investment in the form of home loans and building permits soon after the HOPE VI announcement returned to previous levels by 2000.

- Broadway Overlook. The location for the new Broadway Overlook housing development is in the heart of the up-and-coming Washington Hill neighborhood, which may encourage residents of the Broadway development to “keep up with the Joneses” by maintaining the same positive trends as their neighbors. It is unique for a HOPE VI project to be built in a neighborhood showing high rates of homeownership, signs of improvement, and low levels of distress.

- Flag House Courts. Flag House Courts is bordered by the distressed Jonestown neighborhood to the north, and Little Italy, an economically strong neighborhood, to the south. The transition from the old development to the new development has been associated with a significant reduction in the poor, black population in the Flag House and Jonestown neighborhoods. Most crime fell in all three neighborhoods, but the fear and perception of crime appear to have heightened shortly before demolition, as criminals used the nearly vacant high-rises as hiding places and bases of operation. There was also almost no increased economic activity in Jonestown or Little Italy that could be attributed to the announcement of the Flag House Courts HOPE VI grant. Nonetheless, the image of the Flag House neighborhood improved slightly after the announcement of the HOPE VI development.

Although it is difficult to tease out what neighborhood changes can be attributed to HOPE VI, per se, as distinct from other economic and social forces, findings of this analysis suggest five major factors that affect a development's chances of positive neighborhood effects: (1) the “footprint” of a development--that is, how far it extends into its surrounding area; (2) location; (3) supportive services; (4) the presence and involvement of institutional players; and (5) resident and community involvement in HOPE VI planning and implementation.

Overall, although the marked improvement in the physical conditions of the public housing developments has not extended to adjacent neighborhoods, these nearby neighborhoods experienced increases in property values and economic activity, and an improved image, and these benefits were plausibly related to the HOPE VI intervention. Whether these positive effects will be sustained, and whether other positive effects emerge as the redevelopments mature, remain to be seen.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Executive Summary

In the early 1990s, the HOPE VI initiative emerged as a way to address the severe social and physical problems plaguing high-rise public housing projects around the country. The intervention involved replacing the high-rises with low-rise, mixed income developments that included homeownership units. As Chapter 1 discusses, the theory behind the initiative was that the redeveloped neighborhoods would be more resistant to the damaging pathologies that had become endemic to the high-rise communities.

The purpose of our study was to determine whether the HOPE VI redevelopments in Baltimore are associated with effects on their surrounding areas, or “spillover effects.” Using both quantitative data and qualitative data, we examined the spillover effects in five sites throughout the city. As described in Chapter 3 on methodology, the effects included quality of the physical environment, extent of private investment, community organization activity, crime rates, and image.

After examining seven indicators of neighborhood health for each of the five sites, we concluded that the HOPE VI redevelopments have caused few positive spillover effects on the immediate or adjacent neighborhoods. We also found that the transition period between demolition and redevelopment can be difficult for the area immediately surrounding the HOPE VI development as well as surrounding neighborhoods. Our findings suggest several major factors that affect a development’s chances of positive neighborhood effects. This report concludes with recommendations for Baltimore’s HOPE VI projects and for those elsewhere in the country.

Introduction

The Public Housing Revitalization Program, or HOPE VI emerged from the work of the 1989 National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing that sought to address the physical deterioration and social problems besetting a number of high-rise public housing projects across the nation.

The Commission considered two very different approaches to address these nationwide problems. The first was the traditional bricks and mortar approach of physical revitalization. The second approach focused on project management and paralleled then President Clinton’s emphasis on reinventing government by introducing practices from the private sector, providing greater flexibility to innovate, and fostering independency and self-sufficiency among tenants. Ultimately, HOPE VI emerged as a combination of both approaches, and represents the most dramatic change in public housing policy in 60 years.

The HOPE VI intervention consists of three main elements: (1) the replacement of high-rise public housing projects with low-rise row homes; (2) the introduction of mixed-income populations to the public housing developments; and (3) the inclusion of homeownership units in

the redevelopment. These features are also intended to reduce the isolation of poor residents and integrate the development with the surrounding neighborhood.

A number of research projects are now underway to evaluate the implementation and effects of HOPE VI.¹ By and large, these studies are focusing on the outcomes of residents who left the original public housing units (including those who ultimately moved back to the redeveloped HOPE VI site). None of these studies, however, is focusing primarily on the effects of the HOPE VI redevelopment on the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood or adjacent neighborhoods. This is the focus of the present study.

Specifically, we seek to determine whether HOPE VI redevelopments in Baltimore are associated with neighborhood effects--or “spillovers”--on their surrounding neighborhoods. Neighborhood spillovers include effects on the:

- the physical environment;
- economic activity;
- social environment;
- crime;
- school quality; and
- image.

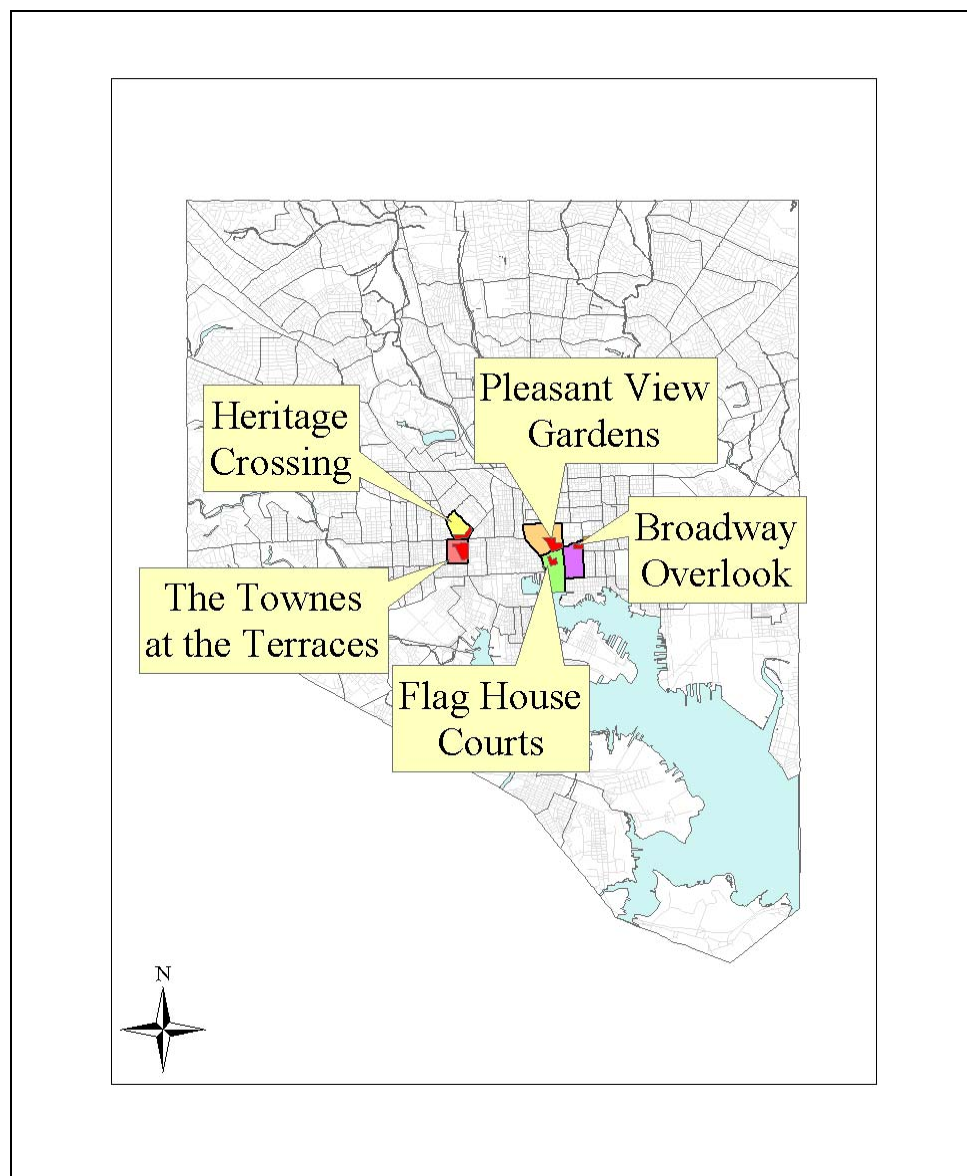
HOPE VI in Baltimore

Baltimore has received six competitive HOPE VI grants since 1993. This study focuses on the first of five that were funded. Figure 1.1 lists these developments, and Figure 1.2 maps their location in the city.

Figure 1.1
HOPE VI Developments Studied

Original Name	New Name
Lafayette Courts	Pleasant View Gardens
Lexington Terrace	The Townes at the Terraces
Murphy Homes	Heritage Crossing
Broadway Homes	Broadway Overlook
Flag House Courts	To be determined

Figure 1.2
Location of the Five HOPE VI Study Sites in Baltimore



Approach

As described in Chapter 3, which determines our research on methodology, we conducted case studies in each of these five HOPE VI sites in Baltimore. In the two earliest redevelopments--Pleasant View Gardens and The Townes at the Terraces--we were able to compare various indicators of neighborhood effects before, and after, the HOPE VI intervention. In the three remaining sites--Heritage Crossing, Broadway Homes, and Flag House Courts--where rebuilding is either not complete or has not yet occurred, we took a different strategy. First, we examined how the transition from the implosion of the original development to the redevelopment of the site (albeit still in process) affected the immediate neighborhood and

adjacent neighborhoods. Additionally, we explored whether the news about the impending redevelopment had any spillover effects on these neighborhoods. We refer to this phenomenon as an “announcement effect.”

Contributions of this Study

This study provides the most up-to-date analysis of an important feature of the first five HOPE VI developments in Baltimore. The research is based on all available quantitative sources including census and city and state administrative databases. We also collected primary data through 181 personal interviews and on-site observations in both the immediate HOPE VI neighborhoods and their adjacent neighborhoods. By identifying the correlates of positive--and negative--spillovers, will the study should be helpful in suggesting mid-course corrections in the current program, or adjusting the design or implementation of future programs. This study also represents an example of a university-city collaboration: bringing the city into classroom and the classroom into the city.

The remainder of this report is divided into eight chapters. We begin by reviewing key theories explaining why HOPE VI might affect the immediate neighborhood of the development and surrounding neighborhoods. Next, we review the study’s design and methods, and describe the indicators and measures we relied on to assess whether neighborhood effects have occurred. The subsequent five chapters describe the analysis of each of the five HOPE VI sites, in turn. We present the conclusions and implications of our research in the ninth chapter.

Endnote

¹Two research groups involved in these studies are Abt Associates and the Urban Institute.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS

Executive Summary

This chapter examines the theories underlying four key elements of the HOPE VI program: (1) creating mixed-income developments; (2) including homeownership units in the redevelopment; (3) eliminating high-rise buildings and applying New Urbanism design principles; and (4) reducing the high rates of isolation and crime associated with high-rise public housing. This chapter discusses the basic tenets of these theories, their mechanisms, their proposed positive and negative impacts, and their possible neighborhood effects. The chapter concludes with a review of the available empirical tests of some of these theories.

Theories of neighborhood effects can be examined in the two Baltimore HOPE VI sites that have already been fully redeveloped and repopulated--Pleasant View Gardens (formerly Lafayette Courts) and The Terraces (formerly Lexington Terrace). Two modifications of these theories can be examined in the three HOPE VI sites still in process--Murphy Homes, Broadway Homes, and Flag House Courts. The first modification shifts the focus to "announcement effects," such as increased community investment that may have been generated from the news that a major community redevelopment project was being initiated. The second modification focuses on the transition period between the implosion of the high-rises and the subsequent rebuilding, which is also expected to have potential impacts on the neighborhoods.

The mixed-income theory includes five models, three supporting the positive effects of mixed-income developments (epidemic, collective socialization, and institutional) and two countering the positive influence of mixed-income neighborhoods (relative deprivation and competition). In general, the empirical evidence for mixed-income communities finds that affluent residents have positive effects on their low-income neighbors, such as influencing declines in teenage pregnancy rates and discouraging crime.

The homeownership theory focuses on the social benefits of owning rather than renting a home. This theory states that the investment homeowners make in their property results in improved property upkeep and maintenance, demand for better municipal services, and discouragement of deviance from group norms. Advocates of this theory suggest that homeowners are strengthened psychologically by their investment and increased commitment to the neighborhood. The empirical evidence shows that while homeownership may benefit the homeowners and their children, the positive effects do not necessarily spill over to surrounding neighborhoods.

Two theories address the physical environment, in general, and high-rise housing, in particular: (1) the design and structure of high-rise buildings have a negative impact on public housing neighborhoods; and (2) poor management and maintenance--not the physical environment--are responsible for negative neighborhood effects. New Urbanism exemplifies the belief that design can create positive change, making neighborhoods seem more like

communities. The empirical evidence on high-rises suggests that the physical environment is less influential than management and maintenance in creating negative neighborhood effects.

Advocates of the isolation theory suggest that collective efficacy, defined as social cohesion among neighbors and their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good, is associated with reduced violence and crime. The limited empirical evidence on isolation and crime supports this hypothesis.

Theories of Neighborhood Effects Underlying the Program

The HOPE VI program was influenced by the work of social policy analysts, architects and planners. Their writings offer theories or hypotheses for why certain deliberate social arrangements or urban planning approaches could have beneficial effects on low-income residents. For this study, we have chosen to focus on the following four theories, which are key elements of the HOPE VI program: (1) creating mixed-income developments; (2) including homeownership units in the redevelopment; (3) eliminating high-rise buildings and applying New Urbanism design principles; and (4) reducing the isolation of public housing neighborhoods.

Traditionally, these theories define “neighborhood effects” as the beneficial impacts on low-income residents from living in a mixed-income development or owning a home, for example. In this study, these theories are applied to both the immediate neighborhoods encompassing the HOPE VI property and to adjacent neighborhoods, as in the case of the two fully redeveloped and repopulated sites: Pleasant View Gardens and The Townes at the Terraces. Using a pre-post analysis, we observed whether the benefits hypothesized by the four theories underlying HOPE VI appeared to spill over onto the immediate neighborhoods and the adjacent neighborhoods.

These theories cannot be applied directly to the HOPE VI sites where the redevelopment is either in an early stage or not yet completed (Murphy Homes, Broadway Homes, Flag House Courts). Instead, we focused on two extensions of these theories. The first is the presence of “announcement effects” in these sites, such as an increase in public or private investment, or in community activity as a result of the announcement of a high profile redevelopment project that is intended to bring improvement to the area. The second extension is whether the transition period between the implosion of the high-rises and subsequent rebuilding had neighborhood effects. The transformation of any neighborhood is expected to have a dramatic impact on all features of the area, from its population composition to its social and physical environment. Some of these transition effects may be positive, while other effects may be negative. Positive effects are plausible because an area of physical blight, concentrated social disadvantage and attendant social problems is being eliminated from the neighborhood. On the other hand, to the extent that the residents of the public housing development comprised the customer base for local retail establishments or other neighborhood facilities and activities, we would expect negative effects. Further, if the residents of the high-rises move into the adjacent neighborhoods, bringing their social problems with them, there may be no benefit to the larger community but rather a displacement of problems from one location to another. Finally, despite the extreme

poverty of high-rise residents, the demolition may represent a loss of identity, community, and informal social networks to the original residents and surrounding communities.

Theories Supporting Mixed-Income Developments

Mixed-income housing is the intentional design and construction of housing developments requiring residents from varied socioeconomic backgrounds to share neighborhood living space (Brophy and Smith 1997). Mixed-income theory was developed in reaction to the culture of poverty exemplified by concentrations of poor in housing projects where problems like crime, unemployment, and addiction are epidemic (Brophy and Smith 1997). Jencks and Mayer (1990) outline three models of positive effects of social exposure and interaction across socioeconomic groups.

The Epidemic Theory

The influence of peer groups and the collective pressure to conform to group normative behavior define the epidemic theory (Jencks and Mayer 1990). Brophy and Smith (1997) describe the effect of peer pressure on poor residents to imitate the behavior of their more affluent neighbors in order to improve their standard of living and environment. The epidemic theory suggests that low-income children will imitate the good behaviors of their higher-income peers.

The Collective Socialization Theory

Collective socialization focuses on adults serving as role models for acceptable behavior, as mentors, and as monitors of community standards in neighborhoods (Jencks and Mayer 1990). According to this model, adults promote and preserve order and help to enforce community standards by demonstrating personal responsibility and placing demands on institutions to support the maintenance of high standards (Brophy and Smith 1997). Khadduri (2001) suggests that these adults also act as informal networks through which people may gain access to employment and other services.

The Institutional Model

The institutional model states that police, schools, and other local institutions have a significant impact on community success. In mixed-income neighborhoods, there is greater access to quality services, particularly better performing schools (Khadduri 2001). Thus, it can be argued that students tend to learn more in communities with high-quality teachers. Similarly, the environment in which police operate may influence how they treat potential violators--petty criminals are handled differently in poor and affluent communities (Jencks and Mayer 1990).

Implementing Mixed-Income Developments

The policy implication of mixed-income theory is that there should be economic diversity among residents of housing developments so that the positive community standards characteristic of middle-income and affluent neighborhoods can benefit both lower- and higher-

income residents. One critical element of the debate surrounding the application of mixed-income theory, however, is whether positive neighborhood effects can be obtained through physical integration alone, suggesting an osmosis-like effect, or if meaningful social interaction is required (Brophy and Smith 1997). This raises several questions about effectively implementing a mixed-income approach in a public housing development: How can interaction be encouraged once mixed-income residents are brought into the community? What proportion of higher-income residents produces the sought after beneficial effects, such as greater access to services, lower rates of crime and vandalism, and a better quality of life?

Theories Challenging the Mixed-Income Framework

It is also possible that the effects of mixing income groups will be negative. For example, the epidemic model discussed above, have the reverse effect, with lower-income children acting as negative role models, spreading social unacceptable behavior to the children of their more advantaged neighbors. This might cause decreased levels of social cohesion and the spread of crime and vandalism to the immediate and surrounding neighborhoods. Jencks and Mayer (1990) offer two theories of negative neighborhood effects.

The Relative Deprivation Theory

The relative deprivation model assumes that a mixed-income development will foster a lower self-image for the disadvantaged groups, especially children, because lower-income families will judge their successes and failures by comparing themselves with their more affluent neighbors (Duncan 1994). This, in turn, may contribute to poorer educational outcomes or socially unacceptable behaviors. For example, less affluent children studying in a school with predominantly affluent children may develop a feeling of inadequacy about their academic abilities, perhaps resulting in poorer academic performance or higher dropout rates. At the neighborhood level, this might produce tension between groups.

The Competition Theory

Similarly, the competition model pits neighbor against neighbor when seeking scarce resources (Duncan 1994). For example, grade competition would, on average, place lower-income children studying in predominantly affluent schools at a disadvantage relative to their more affluent peers. In such an environment, those with advantages have no incentive to bring others up (Jencks and Mayer 1990).

Theoretical Effects of Homeownership on Neighborhoods

Homeownership is thought to help homeowners psychologically because of the strong value Americans place on owning their own home. Fulfilling this tenet of the “American Dream” boosts the social, psychological, emotional, and financial health of homeowners (Rohe, Van Zandt and McCarthy 2000). The satisfaction people derive from homeownership leads to greater commitment and investment in their neighborhoods. The theory further states that because homeowners have a financial stake in their property, they are more likely to maintain their houses and demand better municipal services while discouraging deviance from established

social norms. This investment and stability is expected to produce several positive neighborhood effects, such as increased property values, reduced crime, and greater private sector investment (e.g., Rohe and Stewart 1996; Green and White 1997).

Since homeowners are more residentially stable than renters, homeowners also tend to be more active citizens. They are expected to contribute more in social capital (e.g., voting and participation in community organizations) and to obtaining and maintaining local amenities, such as schools and parks (DiPasquale and Glaeser 1999). High rates of homeownership are also thought to help children by providing stable home, academic and peer environments, which result in improved academic achievement (Aaronson 2000; Harkness and Newman 2002) and lower rates of teen pregnancy (Green and White 1997). Finally, being exposed to the merits of homeownership is expected to make children more likely to own homes as adults (Boehm and Schlottman 1999).

Negative Impacts of Homeownership

Homeownership theory focuses primarily on the positive impacts of owning a home. However, there may be a downside to homeownership. For example, it may become an economic liability for low-income families, because the pressure of keeping up a house can be extremely stressful. Even low-income families who receive assistance to buy a home may later struggle to maintain the property and pay the mortgage. Homeownership may also decrease the time parents spend with their children, serving as a destabilizing force in a family and hurting a child's performance in school (Aaronson 2000). In addition, homeownership may limit the mobility of people in distressed or depreciating areas, effectively trapping residents in undesirable neighborhoods.

Physical Environment Theories

There are two primary schools of thought on the effects of the physical setting on neighborhoods. One theory is that the design and structure of high-rise buildings have a negative impact on public housing neighborhoods and surrounding areas (Armstrong 1960). The counter-theory argues that while design may reinforce negative aspects of a community, thereby contributing to its decline, it is poor management and maintenance of the buildings--not their special physical features--that is actually responsible for neighborhood decline and negative spillover effects (Fuerst and Petty 1991).

New Urbanism attempts to address some of the criticisms of high-rise communities through cosmetic and structural changes. New Urbanism exemplifies the belief that design can create positive change, making neighborhoods seem more like communities (e.g., Falconer Al-Hindi 2001).

Structural Flaws and Faulty Design Principles

Urban planners and architects who see inherent flaws in the design of high-rise public housing developments cite the following structural elements that result in neighborhood decline: (1) lack of outdoor space and communal areas; (2) buildings comprised of large numbers of 3-5

bedroom units, which contribute to high density; and (3) poorly functioning or inoperable elevators (Fuerst and Petty 1991). These critics also argue that public housing high-rises suffer from a shortage of available social services and amenities.

Taken together, these features produce an environment that fails to encourage the development of civic values and contributes to an overall sense of isolation, detachment, and general dissatisfaction among tenants who lack proper access to services in their immediate neighborhood (Armstrong 1960). The high density of large, predominantly low-income families usually headed by single mothers adds to the sense of instability of these communities, which must support a high volume of residents facing many significant socioeconomic challenges (Fuerst and Petty 1991). The resulting lack of shared community spirit facilitates the proliferation of drugs, crime, and vandalism throughout high-rise public housing neighborhoods. Presumably, these neighborhood effects spill over to adjacent communities, which become the targets of drug traffickers, vandals, and other criminals.

Structuralists argue that the introduction of New Urbanism design principles, which aim to marry form with function, can avert the decline of neighborhoods by creating “pedestrian friendly” communities that encourage interaction and community bonds among residents (Fuerst 1985). New Urbanism accomplishes these goals by: (1) using color and more dynamic designs; (2) allowing residents greater choice, such as, giving them the option to pick building materials for their homes; (3) fostering diversity through varied style and design of homes, building densities, and mixed-income households; and (4) creating communal areas through the design of public spaces, pedestrian walkways and the development of neighborhood centers that offer public amenities (Falconer Al-Hindi 2001). In addition, changes in zoning laws to encourage the development of businesses and private-market residential units would further enhance the neighborhood.

Poor Management

Some social scientists argue that design is not the principal factor affecting the overall health of communities; rather, poor management by cities and public housing authorities is the primary reason for the decline of public housing communities (Fuerst and Petty 1991). Historically, many public housing projects became the “dumping grounds” for underprivileged families who were denied housing elsewhere (Comerio 1981). The potential for attracting and retaining moderate-income families in these neighborhoods was grim since the housing units were often built in undesirable areas of the city. Packing these high-density units with very poor tenants created developments that were difficult to manage. Moderate-income tenants who became frustrated with deteriorating conditions moved out, leading to high vacancy rates and a further concentration of the very poor in the high-rises. In several cities, residents believed that the municipality actually encouraged neighborhood decay by allowing city services such as police, ambulance attendants, and postal workers to avoid entering certain public housing neighborhoods, heightening the sense of isolation and lawlessness felt by tenants (Comerio 1981).

Proponents of the theory that poor management, not faulty design, is to blame for the decline of public housing communities have little faith in New Urbanism or other design

initiatives as agents for positive change. Some social scientists argue that given the severe housing shortage, it is practically a crime to tear down buildings and displace residents, when all that really needs to be done is reduce density and improve management (Fuerst and Petty 1991). Others posit that New Urbanism is an exclusionary practice that mimics suburbanization by artificially creating self-contained neighborhoods that are not logically connected to cities (Falconer Al-Hindi 2001; Lehrer and Milgrom 1996; Zimmerman 2001). A final concern is that community values are only likely to change when people with a genuine interest in mutual support of one another are residing in public housing communities, not when new design principles are put into place (Fuerst 1985).

Theoretical Perspectives on Reducing Crime and Isolation in Public Housing

The central goal of most residents is to live in a safe and orderly environment that is free of violence. Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997) hypothesize that collective efficacy, defined as social cohesion among neighbors, combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good, is associated with reduced violence. They propose that the variation in the ability of different neighborhoods to realize the common values of residents, maintain effective social controls, and regulate group members according to desired principles rather than force is a major source of variation in neighborhood violence.

Two features built into the HOPE VI program--homeownership and the residential stability it usually engenders--can promote collective efficacy to maintain social control (Sampson et. al. 1997). Sampson and his colleagues see homeownership as increasing residential stability in the neighborhood and helping to reduce isolation by building social ties among the residents, which form the basis for collective efforts to maintain safety and order. Homeownership also provides residents with a vested interest in supporting the common good of neighborhood life. As a result, homeowners are more willing to intervene to prevent acts such as truancy and loitering by teens on street corners, and to confront individuals who are exploiting or disturbing public space. Sampson et al. (1997) also note that high rates of residential mobility contribute to weakened social controls, since social trust and solidarity, essential components of collective efficacy, take time to develop and are hindered when residential stability in the neighborhood is low. These researchers also cite economic and racial segregation along with high concentrations of lower-income residents, particularly minority groups and female-headed households, as additional factors influencing lower levels of collective efficacy. This view is consistent with the emphasis on creating mixed-income communities in the HOPE VI programs. These effects may also extend beyond the HOPE VI development because the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood with its better-maintained properties and more organized and active citizens may, ultimately, become a role model to surrounding neighborhoods, perhaps reducing their crime and isolation.

Empirical Evidence

The empirical evidence available on each of these neighborhood effect theories is woefully thin. In view of the significance of the public policy problem of distressed, socially and economically isolated neighborhoods in the U.S., the dearth of hard evidence is unfortunate. At

least part of the problem, however, is the complexity of the issues and the difficulty in designing and conducting rigorous research to empirically test these theories. One marker of these problems is that the studies done to date have often produced inconsistent results.

Mixed-Income Neighborhoods

The available research yields conflicting evidence on the effectiveness of mixed-income neighborhoods. There is a general consensus, however, that the presence of affluent residents in a community has a greater impact than the absence of poor ones on the presence of positive neighborhood effects, thus supporting the collective socialization and institutional theories (Duncan 1994; Jencks and Mayer 1990).

Jencks and Mayer (1990) thoroughly review the evidence on the relationship of educational attainment, cognitive skills, crime, and teenage sexual behavior to labor market success. They conclude that advantaged neighbors encourage learning in the classroom, serve as agents to delay sexual intercourse and having children outside of marriage, and discourage crime among certain segments of the population. Those least affected include poor blacks. Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn (1998) cite several studies supporting these conclusions. For example, they report high correlations between overall neighborhood quality and teen pregnancy rates.

After reviewing seven mixed-income developments, Brophy and Smith (1997) outline several factors they view as vital to success. These factors include: (1) a focus on the fundamentals of real estate development, design, and management; (2) location; (3) the availability of social services to support the population, such as career counseling, job training, and placement agencies; and (4) the physical and social integration of mixed-income residents so that the target population can achieve the expected positive neighborhood effects on behavior and attitudes.

The Effects of Homeownership

By contrast to the meager evidence on the neighborhood effects of mixed-income neighborhoods, there is a fairly large and wholly consistent body of work on the benefits of homeownership. This evidence suggests that homeownership can improve the academic achievement and emotional security of children (e.g., Haurin, Parcel and Haurin 2000), strengthen a neighborhood's fiscal status, and foster the development of social capital (e.g., Rohe, Van Zant and McCarthy 2000).

Positive Effects on Children

Significant empirical evidence supports the positive effects of homeownership on children. Children of homeowners are more likely to stay in school and less likely to have a child before age 18 (Green and White 1996). Haurin, Parcel and Haurin (2000) demonstrated that children in owned homes have up to 6 percent higher achievement in math and reading and fewer behavioral problems than renters. Boehm and Schlottmann (1999) found that homeownership during childhood has positive economic effects when these children become

adults. For example, the likelihood of being a high school graduate increases 25 percent. Similarly, the likelihood of post-secondary education increases 24 percent, and the likelihood of becoming a college graduate increases 11 percent.

Harkness and Newman (2002) conclude that low-income children enjoy a range of beneficial long-term outcomes, such as greater educational attainment and higher earnings if they spent at least some of their childhood in an owned home. These results applied even in low-income neighborhoods and were stronger than those for renters living in a better neighborhood. Because the study controlled for the likelihood that particular families become homeowners (i.e., self-selection), and also for a rich array of background variables, these results offer strong support for the benefits of homeownership on children.

Fostering the Development of Social Capital

Surveys show that homeowners invest more in social capital and local amenities. Homeowners are more likely than renters to be members of nonprofessional organizations, to know the names of their school board members and U.S. representative, and 15 percent more likely to vote in local elections. Homeowners were also found to garden more, providing a positive amenity for the neighborhood, and to work to solve local problems such as crime and vandalism (DiPasquale and Glaeser 1999). Studies have also documented that homeownership leads to greater neighborhood stability, better property maintenance, and increased property values (Rohe and Stewart 1990; Green and White 1997).

Form and Function: High-Rises and the New Urbanism

While some support the theory that the design of high-rises is to blame for neighborhood decline, there appears to be little empirical evidence linking design to negative neighborhood outcomes. In their review of numerous studies on the effects of high-rises on community health, Fuerst and Petty (1991) conclude that the structure of buildings has little negative impact on the quality of tenants' lives or the surrounding neighborhoods. In fact, research on high-rise public housing projects in New York City, Minneapolis, and Chicago found positive--not negative--neighborhood effects. These positive spillovers included lower crime rates, low tenant turnover, racially integrated communities, increasing property values, and new construction in surrounding areas. These positive impacts were attributed to a combination of proper maintenance and careful tenant selection to achieve a mix of elderly and families with children, and a mix of income groups. In Minneapolis high-rise public housing, for example, the availability of community services, such as childcare and health care centers and tenant run community housing associations, were also cited as important ingredients in the development of healthy communities. Fuerst (1985) cites additional studies demonstrating that building height has little apparent impact on the personal attitudes of children and families. He also finds no evidence that high-rise housing is harmful to children's development if the high-rise includes some higher-income households.

Other studies suggest that decay in the physical environment and crime rates are the most important factors in determining neighborhood quality. One study reported that physical decay and crime are the strongest indicators of tenant dissatisfaction with neighborhood quality, "with

72 percent of those who rated their neighborhood as being ‘of poor quality’ listing crime or blight as the most important problem that needed to be addressed” (Greenberg 1999).

Finally, interviews with tenants living in high-rises provide additional evidence that high-rises do not appear to be the source of neighborhood decline (Fuerst and Petty 1991). Respondents commented that they did not feel isolated while living in high-rises--on the contrary, they often felt that the large number of neighbors and greater access to people helped them to overcome feelings of isolation. Tenants also noted that building height had less to do with crime rates than poor tenant selection--specifically, the concentration of many problem families in one building.

In view of the ongoing debate about the effects of physical design, in general, and high-rise public housing, in particular, it is difficult to predict the effects of the New Urbanism design principles embodied in the HOPE VI redevelopments (Lehrer and Milgrom 1996).

Isolation and Crime in Public Housing

The multilevel study of collective efficacy by Sampson et al. (1997) demonstrated that neighborhood collective efficacy is an important determinant of neighborhood violence. Collective efficacy was measured by the presence of informal social control in neighborhoods, and mutual trust and cohesion. These are evident by the willingness of neighbors to intervene for the common good of the neighborhood, and community residents’ characterization of their neighborhood as a close-knit community, where neighbors can be trusted and share similar values.

The Sampson et al. research is a landmark study of the effect of collective efficacy in a neighborhood on one important neighborhood effect: crime. The study was based on intensive data collection from large samples of residents in many Chicago neighborhoods, and included innovative data collection approaches such as videotaping neighborhood activity. In view of the high quality of the study design and implementation, the results are particularly noteworthy.

Key Findings

The body of research testing the four theories underlying the HOPE VI program varies in size, quality and findings. The largest body of rigorous work focuses on homeownership, and the findings are consistent and positive. The findings show that homeownership promotes greater community involvement by homeowners, reducing the isolation of residents in the neighborhood and leading to better property maintenance and increased property values. Studies on the effects of homeownership on children show that children of homeowners do better in school, aided by the home, peer, and academic stability associated with homeownership. Additionally, homeownership contributes to reduced crime and social deviance.

The landmark study by Sampson et al. (1997) on collective efficacy makes a convincing case that higher levels of collective efficacy are associated with lower levels of violence, violent victimization, and homicide rates. Additionally, the study determined that effective

neighborhood services, friendship and kinship ties, and organizational participation are all significant factors in reducing violence.

The body of work on mixed-income housing is less strong, and its findings are mixed. The very tentative set of generalizations emerging from studies on the effects of mixed-income neighborhoods are that advantaged neighbors encourage learning in the classroom, serve as agents to delay sexual intercourse and having children outside of marriage, and discourage crime among certain segments of the population but not all, especially poor blacks (Jencks and Mayer 1995). Brophy and Smith (1997) propose that other factors are important in the success of positive neighborhood effects in mixed-income neighborhoods. These factors include: (1) the development, design, and management of public housing developments; (2) location; (3) the availability of social services to support the population; and (4) the physical and social integration of mixed-income residents so that the target population can achieve the expected positive neighborhood effects on behavior and attitudes.

Studies on the effects of design are also inconclusive. There is a great deal of anecdotal evidence that contradicts conventional wisdom about the negative effects of high-rise developments on neighborhoods. These studies suggest that proper maintenance, careful tenant selection, availability of community services and the presence of community organizations play a more critical role in the positive neighborhood effects of a public housing development than the height of buildings or design of the development. Whether New Urbanism design principles, which have mainly been applied to suburban and not urban settings, will work in inner-city public housing settings is unclear.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Executive Summary

This analysis of neighborhood effects of the HOPE VI program in Baltimore takes a case study approach, using both quantitative and qualitative data. The study was deductive (i.e., exploring theories) when theories existed and appropriate data were available, and inductive (i.e., generating hypotheses) when theories were nonexistent. We observed the sites and examined data as systematically as possible to propose hypotheses of what may be promoting, or discouraging, neighborhood effects.

In this study, we examined five HOPE VI sites and their surrounding neighborhoods: (1) Pleasant View Gardens; (2) The Townes at the Terraces; (3) Heritage Crossing; (4) Broadway Overlook; and (5) Flag House Courts. These HOPE VI sites vary in several ways: their stage of development; their location in Baltimore; the size of their “footprint” (i.e., extent to which the HOPE VI redevelopment extends into the neighborhood); their demographics; and the health of their surrounding neighborhoods. As a result, we applied a two-part methodological approach. For the two fully-constructed developments, we used a pre-post comparison, investigating these neighborhoods before, and after, the implementation of the HOPE VI program. For the other three neighborhoods that are in varying stages of completion, we examined both the effect that the transition period between demolition and rebuilding has had on the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods, and whether, in anticipation of HOPE VI funding, there have been any neighborhood effects motivated by the announcement of the funding. We also compared changes in HOPE VI neighborhoods to changes in the city of Baltimore as a whole to account for external factors operating during the same time period as the HOPE VI program, such as changes in the economic climate and welfare reform.

To determine whether HOPE VI has affected its own, and surrounding neighborhoods, positively or negatively, we examined seven factors: (1) demographics and socioeconomics; (2) physical environment; (3) social environment; (4) economic activity; (5) public schools; (6) crime; and (7) public image. We developed measures of each of these broad indicators, relying on multiple sources of quantitative and qualitative data. Decennial census data for 1980, 1990, and 2000 was the primary source of quantitative data, supplemented significantly with multiple sources of administrative data. Our qualitative data are comprised of interviews, firsthand on-site observations, and content analyses of newspaper articles.

Despite our best efforts, there are several weaknesses in our approach, and the difficulty in isolating the effects of HOPE VI apart from all other influences on neighborhood outcomes renders most of our results speculative and tentative. However, this descriptive case study analysis may be useful in suggesting whether the direction of change is consistent with the positive spillover hypothesis. Although we speculate that the direction of the HOPE VI effect will be outward to the neighborhoods, we also recognize that the effect could operate in the opposite direction from adjacent neighborhoods into the HOPE VI site.

A Two-Pronged Approach: Pre-Post Analysis and Announcement Effect Analysis

The present study focuses five of Baltimore's six HOPE VI sites:

- Pleasant View Gardens;
- The Townes at the Terraces;
- Heritage Crossing;
- Broadway Overlook; and
- Flag House Courts.

We examined whether any, or all, of the four key elements of the HOPE VI program--creating a mixed-income development, including homeownership units in the redevelopment, eliminating high-rise buildings and applying New Urbanism design principles, and reducing the isolation of public housing residents--were associated with spillover effects on the immediate or adjacent neighborhoods. We also considered whether variations in these neighborhoods played a role in the extent of any spillover.

These five HOPE VI sites vary in several ways. First, they are in various stages of development, ranging from being redeveloped and occupied for several years to having the public high-rises removed but with no rebuilding as yet. The five HOPE VI sites also differ by their location in the city, the size of their "footprint" (i.e., the extent to which the HOPE VI redevelopment extends into the neighborhood), their demographics, and the health of their surrounding neighborhoods. As a result, we applied a two-part methodological approach. For Pleasant View Gardens and The Townes at the Terraces, the two sites in which the redevelopment is several years old, we conducted pre-post comparisons, using a variety of indicators to gauge the health of these neighborhoods before, and after, the implementation of the HOPE VI program. For Heritage Crossing, Broadway Overlook, and Flag House Courts, the three "announcement effect" sites in which development ranges from vacant lots to partially redeveloped and inhabited developments, we studied both the impact of the transition period between demolition and rebuilding on the surrounding neighborhoods, as well as the effects of the announcement of the HOPE VI program on the community. We also compared changes in HOPE VI neighborhoods to changes in the city of Baltimore at large in an effort to account for external factors operating during the same time period as the HOPE VI program, such as changes in the economic climate and welfare reform.¹

As a result of this two-pronged approach, our methodology differs slightly in examining pre-post sites versus announcement effects sites. In the two full pre-post sites, we compare a wide array of neighborhood attributes before, and after, the HOPE VI redevelopment, ranging from the demographic and socioeconomic composition of the neighborhoods to their physical environment. We also identify other significant public and private sector decisions and activities occurring during the same time period as the HOPE VI redevelopment. The goal of analyzing this pre-post change is to consider whether the HOPE VI redevelopment plausibly played a role in these neighborhood effects, either singly or in combination with other interventions. These analyses appear in Chapters 4 and 5.

By contrast, in the three announcement effect sites, observed changes in the population, the physical environment, school quality and crime in the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood pertain to the transition period between demolition and rebuilding--not the longer-term neighborhood effects of HOPE VI. Further, even if announcement effects occurred in the adjacent neighborhoods, it seems implausible that such effects would take these forms (e.g., reduced crime in anticipation of redevelopment). Therefore, in these three sites, presented in Chapters 6 through 8, we review changes in the array of indicators to describe the transition period itself; specifically, what occurs in a neighborhood undergoing major redevelopment, and whether the dramatic changes in the HOPE VI neighborhood during its transition phase affected adjacent neighborhoods. On the other hand, it may be plausible to expect that announcement effects of HOPE VI might take the form of changes in economic activity through either public or private sector investment, and changes in neighborhood-based organizations, such as their number, level of activity, and effectiveness. Thus, Chapter 6 through 8, which focus on the three HOPE VI sites still in process, consider transition effects and potential announcement effects.

This division in our approach may aid us in assembling a more complete picture of how a HOPE VI development affects its own and surrounding neighborhoods. Since the transition of Pleasant View Gardens and The Townes at the Terraces--the two full pre-post sites--occurred within the 1990s decade, the profile of the transition in these neighborhoods cannot be captured in Decennial census data. Thus, while these sites have the advantage of being able to sort out pre- versus post- attributes, they are unable to capture what the transition phase looks like. In contrast, data on the announcement effect sites capture the potentially dramatic effects of the transition itself. These efforts can only be observed in the three HOPE VI sites still in progress.

We have, therefore, used this distinction between the two groups of HOPE VI sites to advantage. Under the assumption that the transition in the two full pre-post sites was comparable to that in the three announcement effects sites, it may show us how these younger sites can “recover” from the major changes of the transition and enter a new “steady state.” Finally, we also account for the possibility that the perceived success of the redevelopment in the two full pre-post sites could be an important influence on whether there are any announcement effects in the three sites still in development, and whether the announcement effects are positive or negative. This could occur in at least two ways: whether Pleasant View Gardens and The Townes at the Terraces are perceived to have fulfilled their HOPE VI plans as advertised (referred to as “fidelity to plan” in the literature); and whether the general impression of the accomplishments of the HOPE VI redevelopments in these two sites is positive or negative.

The inherent difficulty in isolating the unique effects of HOPE VI--net of all other influences--on neighborhood outcomes renders most of our results speculative and tentative. Nonetheless, this descriptive case study analysis may be helpful in at least suggesting whether the direction of change is consistent with the positive spillover hypothesis. Although we speculate that the direction of the effect is from the HOPE VI site outward to the neighborhoods, we also recognize that the effect could operate in the opposite direction--from adjacent neighborhoods to the HOPE VI site.

Study Design

In early fall 2002, the Policy Analysis class taught by Professor Sandra Newman was divided into five groups. Each team was responsible for one of the HOPE VI sites and its relevant neighborhoods.

The study's methodology consists of several components. First, we used both inductive and deductive methods to examine the correlation between the announcement and/or initiation of HOPE VI strategies and any transition or neighborhood effects. Our deductive approach consisted of moving systematically from concepts and indicators to measures. Specific indicators were identified for seven domains:

- demographics and socioeconomics;
- physical environment;
- social environment;
- economic activity;
- public schools;
- crime; and
- public image.

We developed specific measures of each of these domains, relying on multiple sources of quantitative and qualitative data. Decennial census data for 1980, 1990, and 2000 was the primary source of quantitative data, supplemented significantly with multiple sources of administrative data from, for example, the Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council, the Maryland Department of Planning, and the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). Our administrative data collection was aided greatly by the generous help of the Baltimore Data Collaborative and the Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance. Our qualitative data are comprised of 181 interviews conducted with public and private developers, former and current public housing residents, residents in the surrounding neighborhoods, community leaders, and city planners. We collected firsthand on-site observations to quantify indicators such as city amenities and physical conditions. We also conducted newspaper searches and content analyses of articles to detect changes in media perceptions of the neighborhoods.

Lastly, our study examined all five neighborhoods in comparison to Baltimore as a whole. Several external factors have affected the city during the study period of the 1990s, including changes in the economic climate and federal decisions, such as welfare reform. By comparing trends in the study neighborhoods to trends in the city as a whole, we can better isolate effects that are plausibly connected to the HOPE VI intervention and not more general economic, political, and social changes that have affected all of Baltimore, including our study neighborhoods. Over the past several decades, the city's population has fallen, and poverty and unemployment have risen. We would expect, therefore, that most neighborhoods have followed the same pattern of decline. If we find a neighborhood that is managing to buck citywide trends by either maintaining existing conditions or even improving, then it is reasonable to attribute this more positive trajectory to some special factor(s), including a major intervention such as HOPE VI.

Quantitative Data

Neighborhood Data Matrix

Appendix Figure 3.1 lists the seven domains or concepts we focused on in our analyses, the indicators we were most interested in for each, and the individual measures that we were actually able to find in accessible databases to operationalize each. The sources of these data and the dates they cover are also shown.

Census Data

It is important to emphasize that the implosion of the public housing high-rises in each of the five neighborhoods was synonymous with a decrease in population at least equal to the number of residents of these buildings. We avoid this tautology in the analysis by focusing on any additional changes in population *above and beyond* the change caused by the demolition of the public housing units.

Decennial census data for 1980, 1990, and 2000 was the primary source of quantitative data. Census tracts were the primary unit of analysis for the quantitative data, although block groups or sub-area census data within an individual tract were relied on as needed. For example, block group data were used to examine the geographic concentration of some possible neighborhood effects such as median sale price increases. Additionally, preliminary analysis of Flag House Courts, the youngest HOPE VI site included in this study, strongly suggested that the census tract encompassing this public housing development consisted of three separate neighborhoods: the public housing development itself, Jonestown, and Little Italy. Therefore, we disaggregated the census tract data for this single tract into block group data for each of these three separate neighborhoods (see Chapter 8). Although the boundaries of the census tracts do not necessarily encompass entire neighborhoods, most quantitative data are available at the tract level. (The census tracts and their corresponding neighborhoods are listed in Appendix Figure 3.2.)

Administrative Data

Administrative data represent a variety of sources obtained with the generous assistance of the Baltimore Data Collaborative and the Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance. Sources include the Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development, Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council, Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services, Baltimore City Property Sales File, Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC), Claritas Population Estimates, Baltimore City Department of Public Works, Maryland State Department of Education, Baltimore City Police Department, HABC Police Department, and Maryland Department of Planning. These administrative data were invaluable sources of information on such key attributes as median sales prices of residential properties since 1982, home loan activity, building permits, and property abandonment.

Special Considerations

Although the majority of the measures used in this analysis are straightforward, a few require additional explanation.

Economic Activity

Economic activity is one measure of a neighborhood's viability. We used several indicators to gauge the economic health of each neighborhood including the number of new building permits and median value of residential sales. Although the permit data include both residential and commercial buildings, the property sales data include only residential property.

We also sought anecdotal evidence of changes in economic activity over time through interviews and on-site observations. We excluded from consideration any leveraged private funds the HOPE VI sites had included as part of their HOPE VI application and focused solely on new or proposed investment activity that exceeded the application targets.

Public Schools

Our main interest was to gauge effects of HOPE VI on public school quality. Although there is no single standard for ranking school quality, the Maryland School Performance Assessment Program (MSPAP) has, until recently, been used to test the academic achievement level of students in Maryland. The test has been sharply criticized in recent years as not being a reliable measure of student achievement or school quality. As a result, the State of Maryland has now replaced it with a new testing program called the Maryland School Assessment. However, because the MSPAP has been the standard for many years and is the only measure of school quality for which we have trend data, we include it in our analysis of school quality while also recognizing its serious problems.

We also examined high school dropout rates for the HOPE VI sites and the surrounding neighborhoods, and the number of students receiving free and reduced-cost lunches using data from the Maryland State Department of Education. Finally, we included school closures that may have been either part of the HOPE VI redevelopment plan or a result of declining student enrollment after the public housing high-rises were vacated.

Crime

We examined both violent and property crimes. Violent crimes include incidences of rape, murder, and robbery, while property crimes include burglary, vandalism and auto theft. We also studied the number of juvenile arrests to gauge police activity in the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods. Most of these measures were extracted from the Baltimore City Police Department's 2001 Offenses Data.

Monetary Values

All monetary values in this report were adjusted for inflation to 2000 dollars using the CPI Index (South Urban series for all items) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2002). In addition,

throughout this study, quantitative data were supplemented with qualitative measurements such as interviews and on-site observations.

Qualitative Data

On-Site Observations

We performed on-site observations in all five neighborhoods to capture the neighborhood attributes that are not measured in either the census or administrative data. Table 3.1 shows the proportion of blocks in which on-site observations were recorded. These are divided into three groups: the HOPE VI development itself, its immediate neighborhood, and its adjacent neighborhoods. The table indicates that observations were collected from all blocks with the HOPE VI developments, at least 20 blocks of the immediate neighborhood, and 15 blocks in the adjacent neighborhoods.

Table 3.1
Percentage of Blocks Observed, by HOPE VI Site

HOPE VI Site	HOPE VI Development	Immediate Neighborhood	Adjacent Neighborhoods
Pleasant View Gardens	100	80	61
The Townes at the Terraces	100	73	82
Heritage Crossing	100	20	8.5
Broadway Overlook	NA	12	14.5
Flag House Courts	NA	100	NA

NA=not available because redevelopment hasn't occurred or adjacent neighborhoods were not relevant to findings.

On-site observations helped us assess the social, physical, and economic status of each neighborhood. Observations of the social environment included the number of banks, bail bondsmen, supermarkets, clothing stores, restaurants, and churches. Physical environment observations measured the condition of parks, playgrounds, and streets. Observations of economic activity included a count of commercial establishments operating in the neighborhoods.

Observations were collected using the standardized forms shown in Appendix Figure 3.3. At least two researchers conducted observations in each neighborhood, reconciling differences between rankings when necessary.

Interviews

We conducted 181 interviews to elicit firsthand perceptions of current and former public housing residents, residents of the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods to the HOPE VI site, representatives of businesses of these neighborhoods, and “arm’s length” experts about these neighborhoods. Table 3.2 shows the distribution of these interviews across the HOPE VI sites.

Table 3.2
Number of Personal Interviews, by HOPE VI Site

Neighborhood	Residents (current & former)	Business representatives	Indigenous experts	Arm's-length experts
Pleasant View Gardens	10	9	11	14
Townes at the Terraces	6	4	9	11
Heritage Crossing	19	7	5	10
Broadway Overlook	9	7	6	5
Flag House Courts	10	12	4	13
Total (N=181)	54	39	35	53

Respondents were identified through a snowball technique. Professor Newman and Mr. Michael Seipp, an expert on Baltimore neighborhoods, provided an initial list of knowledgeable individuals, primarily indigenous and arm's length experts for each HOPE VI site. These individuals then referred us to others. We also identified respondents from HOPE VI planning documents, newspaper articles, and word-of-mouth.

Interviews were particularly important for examining changes in the social environment. Our interviews with developers and residents helped us evaluate the number of banks, supermarkets, restaurants, clothing stores, and non-traditional consumer organizations, such as payday loans and pawn shops, in each neighborhood. Interviews with residents asked about the accessibility of these facilities by public transportation. Local community leaders and residents were also asked about the activity of local organizations, such as churches and soup kitchens, and the level of community involvement in HOPE VI activities. Interview protocols, shown in Appendix Figures 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6, were developed to ensure consistency and compatibility across all case study neighborhoods. At least two team members were present at each interview to help ensure accuracy in recording and interpreting responses.

The interviews were invaluable in providing some "real world" grounding and texture for our analysis, and were helpful in interpreting findings. However, given resource constraints, they were conducted with only a small number of individuals in each of these domains who were selected on the basis on convenience rather than systematically. Therefore, they are most appropriately viewed as anecdotal.

Newspaper Research

Each HOPE VI team searched *The Baltimore Sun* archives for all articles about the neighborhoods covered in this study, and then conducted a content analysis of these articles. The goal was to assess changes in media perception of the HOPE VI neighborhoods, and perhaps, the public's view. Each team looked back in time at least three years before the official announcement of HOPE VI funding and then forward to the present. Positive or negative newspaper mentions across a variety of categories, including economic activity and crime, were used to measure positive, negative, or neutral perceptions.

Caveats

Despite our best efforts, we recognize several weaknesses in our approach. Four elements are most important. First, a case study approach cannot isolate the factors that *caused* any neighborhood effects we may detect, because we cannot determine what would have occurred in the absence of HOPE VI intervention (i.e., the “counterfactual”). Although we have a somewhat better ability to tease out such causal factors in the two HOPE VI sites where we were able to conduct a pre-post analysis, we cannot fully discount the role of other major changes occurring during the same time period. Second, although there are several social science theories underlying HOPE VI, there are multiple and sometimes conflicting theories on a particular topic (e.g., mixed-income settings, high-rise housing), and, in some cases, only spotty and mixed empirical evidence. Third, we found no theoretical or empirical literature on announcement effects, and, therefore, have based this portion of our analysis on our own perceptions and judgments. Finally, we rely heavily on census tracts as a representation of neighborhoods, because most quantitative data are available at the census tract level. Although the Census Bureau bases census tract boundaries on input from local experts and residents (see Geographic Areas Reference Manual, <http://www.census.gov/geo/www/garm.html>, January 13, 2003), the borders of tracts do not necessarily match those of the neighborhoods as residents perceive them or to a geography relevant to our HOPE VI analysis.

The difficulty in isolating the effects of HOPE VI apart from all other influences on neighborhood outcomes renders most of our results speculative and tentative. However, this descriptive case study analysis may suggest whether the direction of change is consistent with the positive spillover hypothesis. Although we speculate that the direction of the HOPE VI effect will be outward to the neighborhoods, we also recognize that the effect could operate in the opposite direction from adjacent neighborhoods into the HOPE VI site.

Endnote

¹See Zielenbach (2000) for a similar approach.

Appendix Figure 3.1
Concepts, Indicators, Measures, and Sources

Concept	Indicator	Measurement	Date	Source
Economic activity	Construction activity	# of permits issued	1994; 1999; 2001	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development
	Property buying activity	# of home purchase loans	1997-2001	Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council
		# of home improvement loans	1997-2001	Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council
		Median prices of residential properties	1982- 2000	Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services, Baltimore City Property Sales File
	Private developer interest	# of recent developments	NA	Interviews and observations
Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics	Education level	Educational attainment	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data
	Health	Infant mortality rates	1998-1999	Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene
	Teenage pregnancy	Rate of births per 1000 female teens, under 18 yrs.	1996-1999	Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene
	Former residents now residing in a surrounding neighborhood	# of former public housing residents	1990	Housing Authority of Baltimore County (HABC)
	Population	% change in population	1980 ; 1990; 2000	Census data
	Employment	Unemployment rate	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data
		# of persons employed	1998; 1999	Claritas Population Estimates (CPE)
	Income and income source	Median and per capita income	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data
	Family characteristics	# of families in poverty	1998; 1999	CPE
		Household type	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data
		# and age of children	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data
	Diversity	% African American	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data
		% Other races	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data

Appendix Figure 3.1 (continued)

Physical environment	Public maintenance/ cleanliness	# of sanitation calls	2001	Baltimore City Department of Public Works
		Trash volume perception	NA	Interviews and observations
	City amenities	Street furniture (e.g., benches and lampposts)	NA	Interviews and observations
	City activity	# vacant houses	1980; 1990; 2000	Census data
		# of abandoned houses	1991-2001	BCDHCD Summary of Abandoned Housing Data
Public schools	Socioeconomic status	# of children receiving free or reduced cost meals	1993-2001	Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE) School Performance Report
	School performance	MSPAP test scores	1993-2001	MSDE School Performance Report
		CTBS/5 test scores	1998-2001	Baltimore City Public School System, CTBS/5 test results
		Attendance and high school dropout rates	1993-2001	MSDE School Performance Report
Crime/safety	Violent crime	# of assaults	1998-2001	Baltimore City Police Department (BCPD) Criminal Offenses Data
		Homicide rate per 100,000	1996-2000	BCPD Criminal Offenses Data
		# of rapes	1998-2001	BCPD Criminal Offenses Data
		# total violent crimes	1990; 1998	BCPD Criminal Offenses Data
	Property crime	# of burglaries and robberies	1998-2001	BCPD Criminal Offenses Data
		# of auto thefts	1998-2001	BCPD Criminal Offenses Data
	Juvenile crime	# of juvenile arrests	1996-1999	BCPD Juvenile Arrest Data
	Crime within public housing	# of total arrests	1993-2001	HABC Police Department
Public image		Reputation	NA	<i>The Baltimore Sun</i> newspaper article mentions, both positive and negative
		Public perception	NA	Interviews and observation

Appendix Figure 3.2
Case Study Neighborhoods, by Census Tract

<u>Neighborhood Name</u>	<u>Census Tract(s)</u>
Pleasant View Gardens	501
Central Business District	401
Douglass Homes	605
Ashland Mews	1002
Old Town	1003
Eastern Edge of Midtown Belvedere	1101
Lexington Terrace	1801
University of MD (west side)	402
Other half of Poppleton	1802
Hollins Market, Barre Village	1803
Heritage Crossing	1703
University of Maryland (west side)	402
Madison Park	1402
Harlem Park	1601
The real Seton Hill	1701
Upton	1702
Broadway Homes	604
Upper Fells Point and Butcher's Hill	105
Upper Fells Point	201
Upper Fells Point	202
Butcher's Hill	603
Douglass Homes	605
Flag House Courts	302
Fells Point	203
Downtown	401
Otterbein	2201

Appendix Figure 3.3
Data Collection Form for On-site Observations

Observations	Street Name				
Abandoned cars					
Boarded-up buildings					
Unkempt homes					
Vacant lots					
Street lights					
Trees					
Police (foot or car)					
Benches					
Trashcans					
Outpatient centers					
Clinics					
Drug treatment centers					
Halfway houses					
Parks (w/playground ok)					
Playgrounds (no park)					
Commercial centers					
Religious gathering sites					
Child care centers					
Soup kitchens					
Banks					
Supermarkets					
Non-traditional lenders					
Restaurants					
Clothing stores					
Bail bondsmen					
Liquor stores					
Take-out/pizza					
Gas stations					
Observations	A=no observation B=a little C=some D=a lot E=overwhelming presence				
Trash					
Beautification efforts					
Graffiti					

Appendix Figure 3.3 (continued)

Condition	A=poor B=not good C=good or average D=very good E=excellent				
Streets and sidewalks					
Parks and playgrounds					
Amount	A=nonexistent B=infrequent C=occasional D=noticeable E=very noticeable				
Neighborhood activity					

Appendix Figure 3.4

Resident Interview Protocol

Interviewers: First ask respondents to state their name and record their address.

- 1) How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
- 2) What do you think of as your neighborhood (referring to geographic boundaries)?
- 3) Have the boundaries of your neighborhood changed since **X**?
- 4) Why did you move here?
- 5) What do you think people outside of the neighborhood think about your neighborhood?
- 6) Do you think these people's opinions have changed since **X**?
- 7) How do you feel your neighborhood compares with others in Baltimore?
- 8) Are people moving in to your neighborhood since **X**? Are they moving out since **X**?
(more or less than before)
- 9) If there are moving in, where do you think they are coming from?
- 10) Have you noticed a change in income level of the people moving in since **X**? Have you noticed people with children moving in? Elderly people?
- 11) Do you know your neighbors? How long have they lived here?
- 12) Do you rely on your neighbors for help and support? About how often do you and people in your neighborhood do favors for each other (like watching each others children, helping with shopping, etc.)? When a neighbor is not home, how often do you and other neighbors watch over their property? How often do you and other neighbors ask each other advice about personal things like child rearing or job openings, etc.?
- 13) What are the key organizations in your neighborhood?
- 14) Do you participate in a neighborhood organization?
- 15) Does anyone in your family participate in a neighborhood organization?
- 16) Do people regularly participate in neighborhood organizations? Has the level of participation changed since **X**?
- 17) What are the key accomplishments of the neighborhood organizations?
- 18) Given that your neighborhood is so close to **Y**, are the neighborhood organizations doing anything with **Y**?
- 19) If so, has the level of involvement changed since **X**?
- 20) Is there neighborhood watch in your neighborhood? Do you participate?
- 21) Are there any neighborhood wide events? Do you participate in them? Why or why not?
- 22) HOME OWNER: Do you believe that your home is an investment?
- 23) HOME OWNER: Do you perceive any changes in your property values since **X**?
- 24) RENTER: Do you intend to live in the neighborhood for more than one year? Five years?
- 25) RENTER: If you had the opportunity to buy a home in this neighborhood, would you?
- 26) Do you work in the neighborhood?
- 27) Are there job opportunities in the neighborhood? Have job opportunities increased or decreased since **X**?
- 28) How do you get to work?
- 29) Has there been a change in transportation routes before and after **X**?
- 30) Has the level of city service changed since **X**?

Appendix Figure 3.4 (continued)

- 31) I now want to ask you about how the physical condition of your neighborhood has changed over time. General question: Are you happy with the way the neighborhood looks? Were you in the past? If the resident has lived in the neighborhood pre-HOPE VI, we ask: Has the level of trash in the streets gone up or down since **X**? If not, we just ask them for their perceptions now, i.e. is the trash collected regularly? Is the neighborhood well maintained (high level of upkeep)?
- 32) Are the streets well-lit?
- 33) Where do you shop?
- 34) Have the number of retail shops changed since **X**?
- 35) Are you aware of any new businesses moving into your neighborhood? Is there private developer interest?
- 36) Can you get take-out delivered? Could you in the past?
- 37) Do you feel safe in your neighborhood during the day? Did you in the past?
- 38) Do you feel safe at night? Did you in the past?
- 39) Is selling or using drugs a concern in your neighborhood? Was it in the past?
- 40) Are there adults or teens hanging out in the neighborhood and causing trouble? Were there in the past?
- 41) Do you feel that there is adequate police presence in the neighborhood? Did you in the past?
- 42) Do you think the crime rate is going up or down in this neighborhood since **X**?
- 43) What is the quality of the local schools?
- 44) Has the quality of the schools changed since **X**?
- 45) Would you recommend someone move here?
- 46) Is there anything else we should know about your neighborhood?
- 47) Can you refer us to someone else knowledgeable about the neighborhood who would be willing to speak with us?

Appendix Figure 3.5

Expert Interview Protocol

Interviewers: First ask respondents to state their name, job title, and background.

Image of Neighborhood

1. What is your general impression of the neighborhood?
2. How do you think people in the city perceive this neighborhood before and after HOPE VI? (or) Has the reputation of the neighborhood changed, before or after HOPE VI?
3. What is the best thing about this neighborhood (around HOPE VI)? Or, What features of this neighborhood do you consider its best qualities?
4. What do the citizens believe was lacking in the neighborhood before HOPE VI?
5. Do the neighborhood and its surrounding neighborhoods have a stable population? Was it stable before HOPE VI?
6. Are people moving out of the neighborhood before and after HOPE VI? Are they moving in? Where are they coming from? Have you noticed a population change? An income level change? People with children? Elderly people?
7. Have there been changes in the property values before and after HOPE VI?
8. Do you believe people perceive buying a house in this neighborhood as a good investment before and after HOPE VI?
9. What are the key community organizations in the neighborhood? What are their key accomplishments?
10. Has there been an increase or decrease in the number of organizations or in the participation in these organizations after HOPE VI?
11. Has the physical environment changed since HOPE VI?
12. Has the number of local businesses increased or decreased since the redevelopment? Do you think the amount of economic investment has been sufficient to cover the neighborhoods needs?
13. Since the development/announcement, have private developers expressed an interest in investing in the community?
14. Have services changed since the development? Are there transportation services to work?
15. What is the quality of schools in this neighborhood? Has it changed since HOPE VI?
16. Are you aware of any decisions or actions by city government that have affected (or will affect) the neighborhood?
17. Do you think this is a safe neighborhood?
18. Have there been any recent changes in the crime rate in this neighborhood since HOPE VI?
19. Do the citizens perceive a crime problem in the neighborhood?
20. Do you think there have been announcement effects? And spill over effects in surrounding neighborhoods?
21. Is there anything else we should know about this neighborhood?
22. Can you refer us to someone else knowledgeable about the neighborhood who would be willing to speak with us?

Appendix Figure 3.6


Business Interview Protocol

Interviewers: First ask respondents to state their name, record address, and background.

1. How long have you been at this site? If it's pre **X**, ask 4, 5, if not, skip these questions.
2. Are you a resident of this neighborhood?
3. Why did you choose the location?
4. Do you recall what other businesses were in this location before **X**?
5. What is your perception of why those businesses moved or failed?
6. How many people do you employ?
7. How many are from this neighborhood?
8. Since **X** how has your business fared in the market (i.e. have you made a net profit or net loss)?
9. What do you attribute your experience to (i.e. why have you made a net profit or loss)?
10. Do people from **Y** shop here?
11. Do you anticipate more business from the residents of **Y**?
12. Are you a part of any neighborhood association or local business association?
13. Do you know of any businesses moving in?
14. What are the positive/negative aspects of having a business here?
15. Would you recommend other businesses to move into this neighborhood?
16. What is your perception of the neighborhood?
17. Has that perception changed over time?
18. What do you think people outside of the neighborhood think about your neighborhood / the location of your business?
19. Do you think the crime rate has changed since **X**?
20. Is there anything else we should know about this neighborhood?
21. Can you refer us to someone else knowledgeable about the neighborhood who would be willing to speak with us?

CHAPTER 4 LAFAYETTE COURTS/PLEASANT VIEW GARDENS

Executive Summary

Built in 1955, Lafayette Courts was Baltimore's first high-rise public housing development. When the city demolished the development's 23 buildings in August 1995 as part of Baltimore's HOPE VI initiative, Lafayette Courts was the city's oldest, largest, and most physically and socially distressed housing project. The completed Pleasant View Gardens redevelopment consists of 201 rental rowhouses, 27 ownership rowhouses, and a 110-unit senior housing building. In November 2002, it was home to 670 residents. 

From 1990 to 2000, the census tract covering Pleasant View Gardens experienced a population decline of 32 percent completely due to the reduction in housing units in the redevelopment. By contrast, two of the surrounding tracts did not conform to Baltimore's consistent decline in population over the decade. Population in the city fell 12 percent from 1990 to 2000, while it increased 22 percent in the nearby neighborhoods of Douglass Homes (from 855 to 1,039), and by .7 percent in Ashland Mews (from 3,568 to 3,593). The increase in Douglass Homes is, in part, due to the relocation of 33 families from Lafayette Courts and 46 families from other HOPE VI developments. During the 1990s, the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood remained overwhelmingly black, as did Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews. Median incomes in Pleasant View Gardens, Douglass Homes, and Ashland Mews rose through the last decade, but they were still well below the city's median.

Residents and leaders of community organizations said in interviews that they felt included in Pleasant View's planning. The redevelopment seems not to have affected the activity or power of tenant associations. Most have no budgets, but they continue to meet and press for various changes in their areas. An exception is the East Baltimore Community Corporation, which is very active on Gay Street, west of the Pleasant View development.

Other neighborhood forces, such as the federal Empowerment Zone, which encompasses Douglass Homes, influenced the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood during the 1990s and may be largely responsible for real and perceived changes in the area. Meanwhile, Johns Hopkins Hospital has plans to build a biotech park north of the hospital, although the plans are seemingly unrelated to HOPE VI.

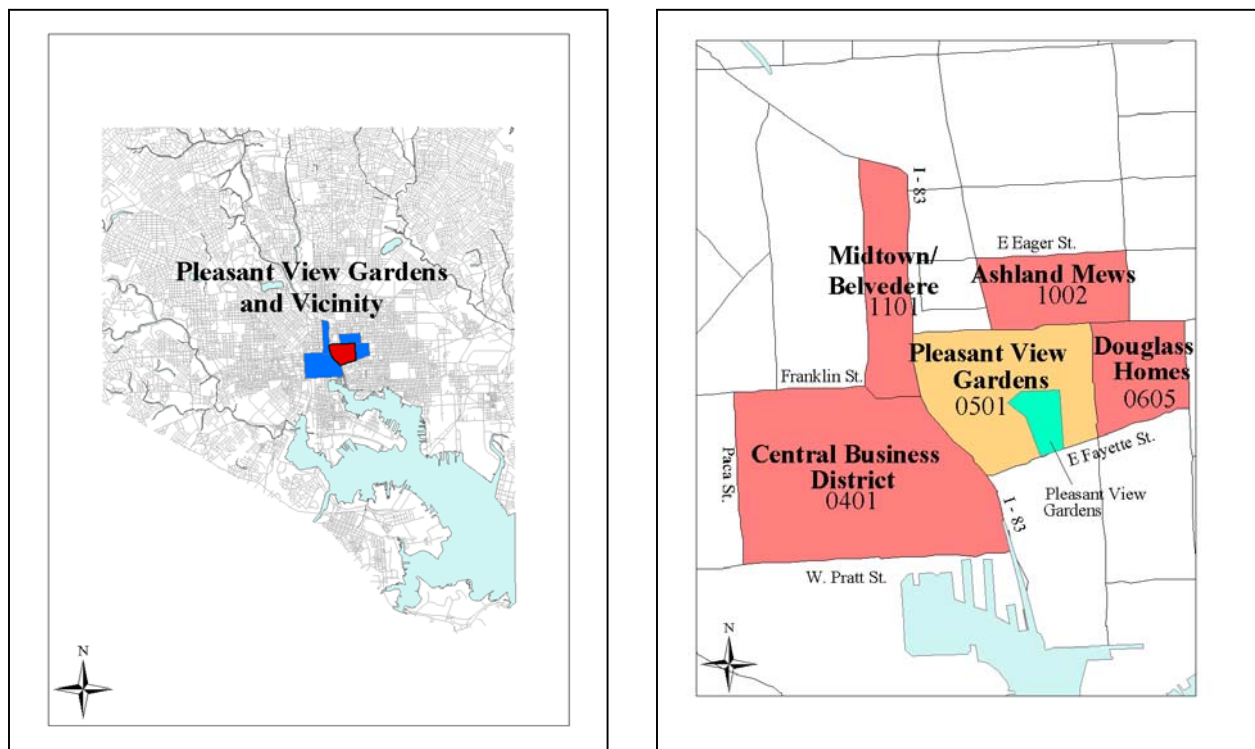
The redevelopment of Lafayette Courts has served as a catalyst for neighborhood renewal in minor ways. Consensus exists that the Pleasant View development itself is doing well, and evidence suggests that redevelopment has encouraged new investment in the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods. On the other hand, Douglass Homes was negatively affected by an influx of relocated Lafayette Courts residents. Merchants in Oldtown Mall lost some of their customer base, but may benefit in the long run from a proposed supermarket to be developed adjacent to the mall. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, an elementary school adjacent to Lafayette Courts, also experienced negative effects, closing in 2001, in part, because of decreased enrollment. Meanwhile, Ashland Mews, the Central Business District, and Midtown/Belvedere were relatively unaffected by the redevelopment. City officials, real estate developers, and other

experts agree that, in many ways, it is too soon to draw broad conclusions about spillover effects of Pleasant View Gardens. Further examination will likely show that while the redevelopment's health aids in the area's renewal, the development will be affected by the adjacent areas more than it affects them.

Introduction

As shown in Figure 4.1, the Pleasant View neighborhood is located in an area of East Baltimore between the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions (JHMI) and the Central Business District. It is bounded to the south by Jonestown and to the north by the state prison and residential neighborhoods.

Figure 4.1
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods



Note: Census tract number noted under neighborhood name.

Besides the HOPE VI development, Pleasant View Gardens contains light industry, subsidized housing, a small middle-class enclave, and the Oldtown Mall, as noted in Figure 4.2. Douglas Homes contains JHMI and the Douglass Homes housing project. Ashland Mews is entirely residential with public housing and several blocks of homeowners.

Figure 4.2
Neighborhood Characteristics:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Neighborhood	Census Tract	Key Attributes
Pleasant View Gardens	501	Oldtown Mall, Central Post Office; Somerset Homes public housing project; Stirling Street middle-class enclave.
Douglass Homes	605	Douglass Homes public housing project; Johns Hopkins Medical Center.
Ashland Mews	1002	Latrobe Homes public housing project; Ashland Mews middle- class housing.
Central Business District	401	High-rise office buildings; Minimal residential housing.
Midtown/Belvedere	1101	Part of well-established Mt. Vernon; Mixed business and residential.

The HOPE VI Intervention

As shown in Figure 4.3, Lafayette Courts was built in 1955 as Baltimore's first public housing high-rise development. The property consisted of 807 units in six 11-story high-rise towers and 17 low-rise buildings. Its population was 100 percent black. In 1994, the development had 1,625 residents including 560 families, 922 children, and 24 elderly. When the city imploded the development on August 19, 1995, Lafayette Courts was the oldest, largest, and

Figure 4.3
Then and Now:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Tracts

Measure	Lafayette Courts	Pleasant View Gardens
Year housing opened to public	1955	1998
Building type	23 buildings; 6 high-rises; 17 low-rises	201 two story rowhouses; one low-rise senior housing building
Population	2,296	670
Number of units	807	338 units 201 public rowhouse rental units 27 homeownership units 110 senior rental units
Features	Community, recreational and educational facilities adjacent to the development; medical facilities nearby.	New community; recreational, education and medical facilities adjacent to the development.

most physically and socially distressed housing project in Baltimore. Construction of Pleasant View Gardens, Lafayette Courts' replacement, began on July 27, 1997, and two months later, the first section of rowhouses was ready for occupancy. All of the units were completed by January 1998. Pleasant View Gardens now consists of 228 rowhouse units, of which 201 are rental and 27 are homeownership. The development also includes a four-story senior housing building with 110 units. Overall, Pleasant View Gardens has 58 percent fewer units than Lafayette Courts. In

November 2002, 670 people were living in the 338 units; the development had a two percent vacancy rate, concentrated entirely in the senior housing building.

The completed Pleasant View Gardens development is not drastically different from its HOPE VI plan, with all major building construction plans fulfilled. Some units of Lafayette Courts were to be renovated, but ultimately all units were demolished. Also, many of the social service programs called for in the plan were implemented and are being used by residents. The grant application stated that the development would include homeownership units but did not specify a proportion or number. The application also said there would be changes in management without further explanation. Pleasant View Gardens has been managed by ART Corporation since 1997 when the first redeveloped units were occupied. In addition to the new housing units, new recreation and community centers have been constructed, again according to plan. Finally, a program for interaction between senior citizens and young single mothers has been implemented as planned.

External Forces

It is important to keep in mind that other neighborhood forces influenced the Pleasant View area throughout the 1990s, and that these forces, may in large part, be responsible for real and perceived changes in the area. Some of these external forces are summarized in Figure 4.4. The federal Empowerment Zone covering the Douglass Homes tract is one such force. Another is JHMI's plan to build a biotech park north of the hospital. Although this plan is seemingly unrelated to HOPE VI, it was the single most often referred to characteristic of the neighborhood in interviews conducted in November 2002. Throughout the 1990s, several initiatives were put in place in the downtown area, including the Downtown Partnership and the Historic Charles Street District initiative.

Figure 4.4
Other Interventions:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Type	Sponsor	Primary Goals	Focus Area
Fayette Street Corridor	Baltimore Development Corporation	Employment and economic development.	800-1200 blocks of E. Fayette Street.
Live Near Your Work	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	Encourages employees to live near their work.	Employer specified target areas. Some include: Johns Hopkins; Bank One; <i>The Baltimore Sun</i> ; Mercy Hospital.
Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions	Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions	Hospital expansion and planned biotech park.	Wolfe Street and Broadway
Empowerment Zone	Federal Government	Revitalization; employment and economic development.	Incorporates most of Douglass Homes tract.

Preview of Findings

The redevelopment of Lafayette Courts has served as a catalyst for neighborhood renewal in minor ways. Consensus exists that the Pleasant View Gardens development itself is doing well, and evidence suggests that the redevelopment encouraged new development along the stretch of Fayette Street that runs from the edge of downtown to JHMI. The HOPE VI redevelopment has also helped attract a long-sought and much-needed grocery store to the area.

The demolition of Lafayette Courts negatively affected the residents of Douglass Homes, a public housing project whose social fabric and social capital were disturbed by the relocation of 33 Lafayette Courts families. Merchants along the Oldtown Mall, who lost some of their consumer base, were also negatively affected, although they can expect to benefit from the planned supermarket. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, an elementary school adjacent to Lafayette Courts, also experienced negative effects, closing in 2001 in part because of decreased enrollment.

The adjacent neighborhoods to Lafayette Courts--Ashland Mews, the Central Business District, and Midtown/Belvedere--were relatively unaffected by the redevelopment. The latter two neighborhoods are separated from Pleasant View Gardens by the Jones Falls Expressway, which is a major physical and psychological barrier between the areas. These two neighborhoods were also more affected by downtown investment than by any changes in Lafayette Courts. Ashland Mews, a strong middle-class enclave, has been included in our analysis because, although it is geographically removed somewhat from Pleasant View Gardens, we could expect the HOPE VI redevelopment to have some effect on this neighborhood.

Neighborhood Analysis

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an examination of seven key indicators of neighborhood health that help us evaluate the effects of Pleasant View Gardens on its immediate and adjacent neighborhoods. These indicators, reviewed in Chapter 3, include demographic and socioeconomic characteristics; the physical environment; the social environment; economic activity; crime; school quality; and image. This chapter, like the one that follows on The Townes at the Terraces, where redevelopment has also been completed, tracks the indicators from the “pre” time period, before the redevelopment, to the “post” time period. Chapters 6 through 8, covering Heritage Crossing, Broadway Overlook and Flag House Courts, are organized differently. These three chapters use data on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, physical and social environment, crime, and school quality to assess the effects of the transition period--that is, the period between implosion and redevelopment--on the neighborhoods. Their analyses then use economic indicators, in addition to changes in the number, activity, and effectiveness of neighborhood-based organizations, to examine the announcement effects of the HOPE VI plan on their respective neighborhoods.

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

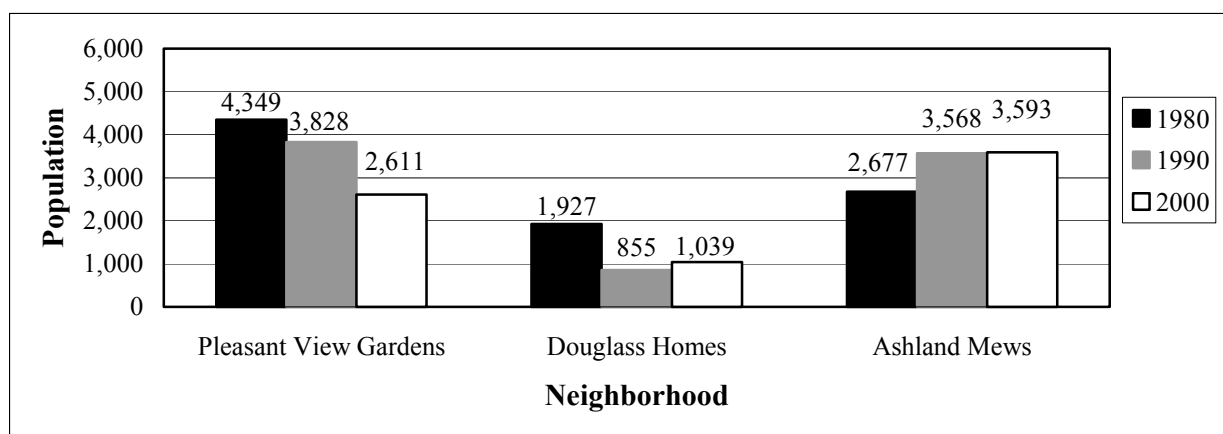
Pleasant View Gardens experienced positive changes in demographic and socioeconomic measures, while Douglass Homes had negative effects partially due to resident relocation from

Lafayette Courts. Ashland Mews saw little change.

Population

As shown in Figure 4.5, the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood experienced a population decline of 32 percent from 1990 to 2000, which can be completely attributed to the reduction in housing units in the redevelopment. Factoring in the residents displaced by the redevelopment, the neighborhood experienced a net population gain of 409 residents. By contrast, the trends in the surrounding neighborhoods were inconsistent with the declining population in Baltimore over the decade. The city's population fell 12 percent during the 1990s, while it increased in Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews. Douglass Homes experienced the greatest percentage increase in population, growing 22 percent, from 855 to 1,039 residents. This increase is largely due to an artificially low population in 1990 associated with major renovations in Douglass Homes, which required the temporary relocation of some families. Subsequently, 73 families were relocated into Douglass Homes from various HOPE VI sites between 1990 and 2002.

Figure 4.5
Population Trends:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

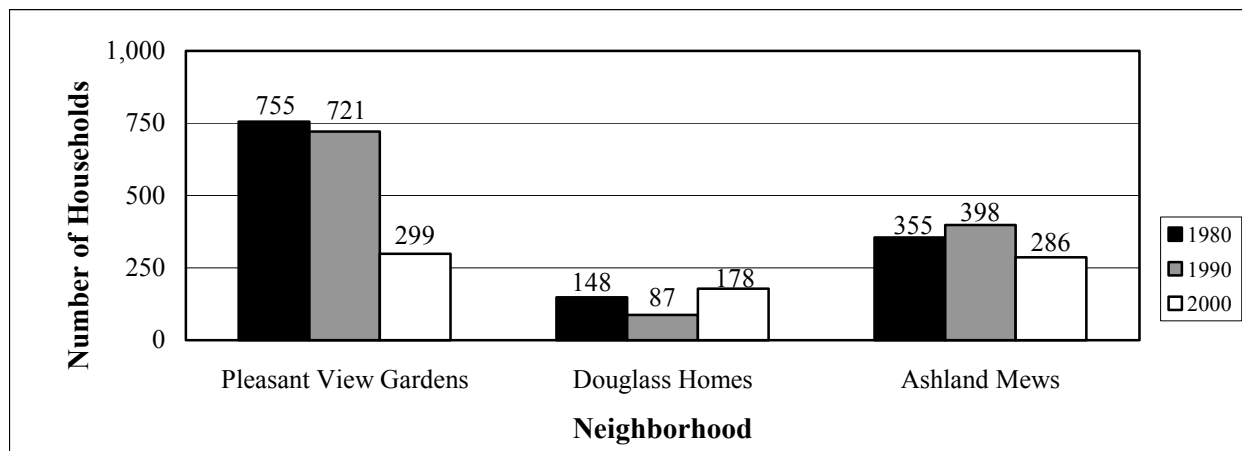
The black population decreased in the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood from 98 percent in 1990 to 90 percent in 2002, presumably largely attributable to the greater mix of income groups in the new Pleasant View Gardens development. Neither Douglass Homes nor Ashland Mews experienced any significant change in their proportion of black residents. (Appendix 4.1 includes more detailed data on population changes in Pleasant View Gardens and adjacent neighborhoods.)

Household Type

As shown in Figure 4.6, the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood saw a 59 percent decline in the number of female-headed households with at least one child over the 1990s--from 721 in 1990 to 299 in 2000--again consistent with the implosion. The 28 percent decline in

Ashland Mews mirrored the city's slight decline in female-headed households with at least one child. Douglass Homes, however, saw a 105 percent increase in such households, which may be a sign of negative spillover. Unfortunately, data are not available to estimate how much of this increase can be attributed to relocated tenants from Lafayette Courts. (Appendix Table 4.1 includes more detailed data on household trends.)

Figure 4.6
Female-Headed Households with at Least One Child:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

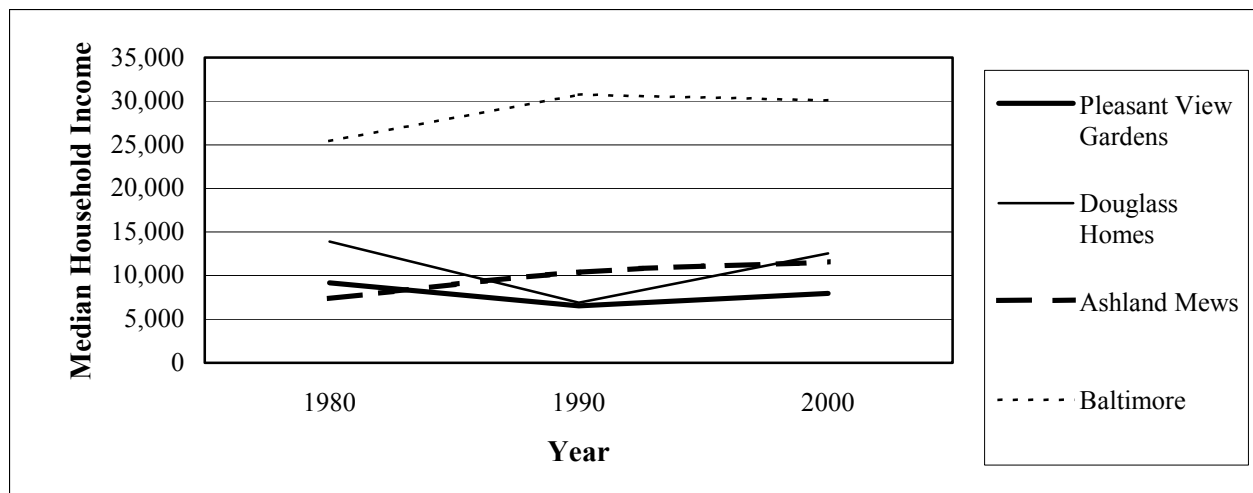


Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Income

As shown in Figure 4.7, during the 1990s, median household income increased in Pleasant View Gardens by 18 percent (from \$6,535 to \$7,944), in contrast to the city's very

Figure 4.7
Median Household Income (2000\$):
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

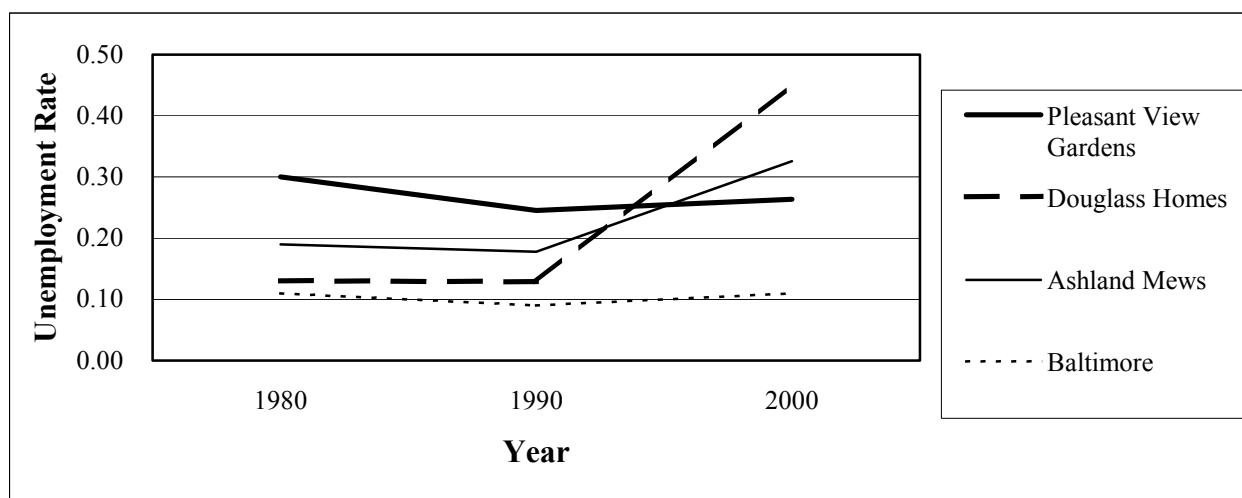


Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

modest decline. Nonetheless, incomes at Pleasant View Gardens are still far below citywide income levels, and the area has a long way to go. Households in Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews also saw increases in income levels. Again, the increases are a positive sign, although these neighborhoods remain far poorer than much of the city.

As shown in Figure 4.8, unemployment rates in Pleasant View Gardens mirrored those in Baltimore, both experiencing a minor increase through the 1990s. Despite increases in median income in Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews, unemployment rates in both neighborhoods climbed steeply during the decade. In 2000, Douglass Homes had a 45 percent unemployment rate, and Ashland Mews had a 33 percent unemployment rate, compared to 11 percent citywide. The conflicting income and unemployment trends suggest that working residents in these neighborhoods increased their earnings while a greater number of their neighbors became unemployed. (See Appendix Table 4.2 for additional data on unemployment and income.)

Figure 4.8
Unemployment Rate:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Residents and community leaders in Douglass Homes expressed the belief that after Lafayette Courts was demolished, residents from that project moved into Douglass Homes. These relocatees replaced residents who had found jobs after welfare reform and had moved out of the project. According to residents and community leaders in Ashland Mews, the homeowners in the tract are steadily employed by JHMI, the city, the Federal government, and by other employers. The unemployed population is reported to be concentrated in the nearby Latrobe Homes housing project.

Education

Pleasant View Gardens saw a notable increase in the level of education of its residents during the 1990s. Despite its smaller population, the absolute number of residents with bachelor's and post-bachelor's degrees doubled from 1990 to 2000, from 98 to 188, respectively.

The theory that the working population of Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews increased their earnings through the 1990s is supported by education data showing an increase in high school and college degrees held by residents there. In Douglass Homes, the number of residents holding high school or equivalency diplomas increased by 42 percent, although the number with bachelor's degrees declined. Conversely, in Ashland Mews, the number of residents holding bachelor's degrees increased 97 percent, from 64 in 1990 to 123 in 2000. This is a possible positive spillover effect: either better educated residents not deterred from moving to Ashland Mews by the nearby public housing project, or a desire to keep up with the better-educated "Joneses" in the Pleasant View Gardens development.

Physical Environment

The Pleasant View Gardens development is in good physical condition and enjoys low rates of vacancy and abandonment, although there are several newly vacated commercial buildings throughout the immediate neighborhood. Similarly, vacancy and abandonment rates are also low in the Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews neighborhoods. The homeowners in Ashland Mews appear to be particularly attentive to the upkeep of their properties. A synopsis of measures of the physical environment we examined is shown in Figure 4.9.

Figure 4.9
Synopsis of Physical Environment Measures:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Abandoned houses	Administrative data: Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	1991-2002
Vacant houses	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Trash; beautification efforts; graffiti; streets; and sidewalks	On-site observations	October 2002
Interviews	14 arm's-length experts; 11 indigenous experts; 9 business owners; 10 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as per block averages for street furniture and abandoned cars, sanitation calls, and the conditions of parks and playgrounds did not follow a consistent pattern.

Abandoned Houses and Vacant Units

Pleasant View Gardens has thus far avoided one of the greatest problems facing Baltimore's neighborhoods--increasing numbers of abandoned houses. There are no abandoned houses in the development, and only three in the immediate neighborhood. Douglass Homes consists only of public housing units and has no abandoned houses. Ashland Mews, on the other hand, saw a sizable increase in abandoned houses, but they are concentrated along one block close to the Latrobe Homes public housing project.

As shown in Table 4.1, the Pleasant View Gardens redevelopment has also maintained a low vacancy rate. According to the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC), the two percent vacancy rate is due to a few openings in the senior citizens' building. In 1990, the vacancy rate in Douglass Homes rose to 30 percent because residents were relocated during

major renovations. The residents moved back by 1995, and in 2000, the vacancy rate had dropped to nine percent. Meanwhile, vacancy rates in Ashland Mews have remained low, increasing slightly from three percent in 1990 to five percent in 2000. (Detailed data on abandoned housing and vacancy are included in Appendix Table 4.3.)

Table 4.1
Physical Environment:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Baltimore
Number of housing units, 2000	1,200	610	1,270	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	1,398	594	1,264	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	1,562	850	1,119	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000 (percent of total)	74 (6.17)	54 (8.85)	64 (5.04)	42,281 (14.07)
Number of vacant housing units, 1990 (percent of total)	58 (4.15)	180 (29.51)	35 (2.77)	27,222 (8.96)
Number of vacant housing units, 1980 (percent of total)	243 (15.55)	49 (5.76)	65 (5.81)	21,045 (6.96)

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Note: Numbers in parenthesis represent percentage of total.

Property Upkeep and Other Observations

On-site observations, summarized in Table 4.2, were conducted in the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods. All blocks were surveyed in the HOPE VI development, 20 blocks were surveyed in the immediate neighborhood, and 15 were surveyed in the adjacent neighborhoods. This represents 80 percent of the immediate neighborhood, 75 percent of Douglass Homes, and 46 percent of Ashland Mews.

Table 4.2
Current Quality of Physical Environment:
Mean Scores of Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	PVG immediate neighborhood	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews
Trash	4.56	3.30	3.31	4.20
Beautification efforts	2.94	1.80	2.50	2.60
Graffiti	4.69	4.25	4.50	4.60
Streets and sidewalks	4.00	2.95	3.06	3.33
Parks and playgrounds	3.75	3.14	4.14	2.00

Sources: On-site observations (2002). Blocks observed: PVG (100%); immediate neighborhood (80%); DH (75%); A M (46%).

Note: Rated on a scale where 1=worst and 5=best.

These observations revealed that the Pleasant View development had the most positive physical environment of the neighborhoods studied. It was greener than its immediate and

adjacent neighborhoods and had very little trash, presumably because there are daily trash collections by HABC employees who drive through the neighborhood in a golf cart. On average, the development has eight streetlights per block, compared to three per block in Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews. Neither the Pleasant View development nor immediate neighborhoods had any abandoned cars or unkempt homes.

In Ashland Mews, homeowners sweep their stoops, tend their flowers, and in general keep up their houses. Some members of the neighborhood associations, however, complained about declining city responsiveness for bulk trash pick-up. A number of Douglass Homes Tenant Council members reported that while some residents help keep common areas clean, an increasing number of newcomers fail to maintain their properties.

Social Environment

Tenant organizations were relatively active in Lafayette Courts and its adjacent neighborhoods, and they remained so after Pleasant View Gardens was built. Interaction across the neighborhoods has remained low, while social cohesion and the level of social services within Pleasant View and the immediate neighborhood has remained high. A synopsis of measures of the social environment we examined is shown in Figure 4.10.

Figure 4.10
Synopsis of Social Environment Measures:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Dates
Community organizations	Baltimore City Data Collaborative (BCDC)	November 2002
Neighborhood activity	On-site observations	October 2002
Interviews	14 arm's-length experts; 11 indigenous experts; 9 business owners; 10 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as public transportation routes and residential tenure, did not follow consistent patterns.

Community Organizations

There are 14 community groups and neighborhood based nonprofits in the area. (See Appendix Table 4.4 for a complete list of neighborhood organizations.) Residents and community organization leaders stated in interviews that they felt included in Pleasant View's planning. The redevelopment seems not to have greatly affected the activity or power of tenant associations. Unlike the organizations shown in Figure 4.11, most of the tenant councils have no budgets, but they continue to meet and press for various changes in their neighborhoods.

The Historic East Baltimore Community Action Corporation (HEBCAC), the dominant community development organization in East Baltimore, has in recent years become less involved in the immediate Pleasant View Gardens area. Only Douglass Homes falls into the HEBCAC East-side Empowerment Zone area, but this neighborhood is not a current focus of the organization. The East Baltimore Community Corporation (EBCC), on the other hand, has been

active in the area. The group owns several buildings on North Gay Street, which are located between the Jones Falls Expressway and Pleasant View Gardens, and is active in efforts to redevelop that corridor.

Figure 4.11
Community Group Synopsis:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Organization	Primary Focus	Budget	Staff
Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition (HEBCAC)	Empowerment Zone	\$5,135,134	40
East Baltimore Community Corporation (EBCC)	Social services and economic development	\$2,500,000	40
Oldtown Mall Merchant's Association	Oldtown Mall businesses	\$7,000	0

Sources: Personal interviews (2002); www.guidestar.com (2002).

The Oldtown Mall Merchants Association has been active for several decades, and has continued to lobby for increased city support. Although state funds are potentially available for the regeneration of the mall and other revitalization in Pleasant View Gardens' immediate and adjacent neighborhood, no major nonprofit partner has stepped forward to request aid.

Social Cohesion and Community Interaction

Pleasant View Gardens has had little effect on the social cohesion of its adjacent neighborhoods. Ashland Mews and Stirling Street had cohesive tenant groups and communities before the HOPE VI development, and they report that these have not changed. While the redevelopment has not disturbed these communities, it also has not resulted in increased activity across the neighborhoods, limiting the potential spillover effects of exposure to mixed-income populations. But a negative effect has been felt by Douglass Homes. According to the tenant council president, former Lafayette Courts residents have disturbed the cohesion and stability of their community. Table 4.3 summarizes our observations of neighborhood activity and shows similar levels in Pleasant View Gardens and immediate and adjacent neighborhoods.

Table 4.3
Current Neighborhood Activity:
Pleasant View and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	PVG immediate neighborhood	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews
Neighborhood activity	2.19	2.95	2.75	2.42

Sources: On-site observations (2000). Blocks observed: PVG (100%); immediate neighborhood (80%); DH (75%); AM (46%).

Note: Rated on a scale where 1=worst and 5=best.

Social Services

The HOPE VI redevelopment has slightly improved and increased the social services available in the area. Pleasant View Gardens residents have the benefit of the community center

and its employment office, as well as a Boys and Girls Club and a day care center, which recently began to offer evening care for children. Parents from surrounding public housing developments are permitted to use the center, but as of November 2002, only 15 percent of the children came from outside Pleasant View Gardens. The McKim Center, which was established in 1955, also provides day care, after school programs, summer camps, and other services to children from Pleasant View and its surrounding neighborhoods.

There are several churches in the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood, but their parishioners are mainly commuters. Many of them lived in the neighborhood in the past but have moved away. Because they come only for services, their investment in the area is minimal. Unlike many of Baltimore's neighborhoods, there are few storefront churches in Pleasant View, Douglass Homes, or Ashland Mews. But this is not surprising since the neighborhoods are largely residential, with few stores of any sort.

As part of the Pleasant View redevelopment, the Greater Baltimore Medical Center moved one of its East Baltimore clinics to a new \$5.7 million building adjacent to the Pleasant View development. Because the center did not expand its services or increase its number of patients, it has not contributed significantly to the service supply available to residents in the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood. In November 2002, only 15 percent of clinic patients were from the Pleasant View development and its surrounding area.

The EBCC runs a career center in its new building, The Chance, at 301 Gay Street, but because the center is funded by the Empower Baltimore Management Corporation, it has no financial incentive to serve residents outside the Empowerment Zone. The Douglass Homes project is the only area that falls within one of the zones, but Douglass Homes has had its own employment center for many years.

Economic Activity

A synopsis of measures of the economic activity we examined is shown in Figure 4.12.

Figure 4.12
Synopsis of Economic Activity Measures:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Homeownership rates	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Constructions and renovation permits	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	1994; 2000-2001
Median sales price	Administrative data: Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services	2000-2002
Owner-assessed value of home unit	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Private investment	Interviews: 4 arm's-length experts; 11 indigenous experts; 9 business owners, and 10 residents <i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	October-November, 2002 1994-2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as home loans and appraisal values did not follow a consistent pattern.

Because of the high concentration of public housing projects in the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods and the small number of homeownership units within the Pleasant View Gardens development (27), homeownership rates did not change significantly from 1990 to 2000. Economic activity did increase over the decade, as commercial development occurred in the Pleasant View Gardens area particularly along Gay and Fayette Streets.

As shown in Table 4.4, the number of homeowners in the Pleasant View Gardens tract increased from 37 in 1990 to 60 in 2000, which was a direct result of the 27 new homeownership units in the Pleasant View development. Homeownership theory suggests that homeowners benefit their immediate neighborhoods by investing money and energy in maintaining their properties, and by using their political clout to leverage benefits for the neighborhood. However, because the number of homeowners relative to renters is so small in Pleasant View, the effects may not be strong. Homeowners represent only five percent of neighborhood residents; the other 95 percent of residents are renters. The homeowners are clustered in Pleasant View and along the cobblestone Stirling Street, a block-long, middle-class enclave of well-maintained rowhouses adjacent to Oldtown Market.

Table 4.4
Economic Activity:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Baltimore
Number of homeowners, 2000	60	0	196	116,580
Number of homeowners, 1990	37	4	204	134,424
Number of homeowners, 1980	30	3	37	132,735
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.05	0	0.16	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.03	0.01	0.16	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1980	0.02	0	0.03	0.44

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

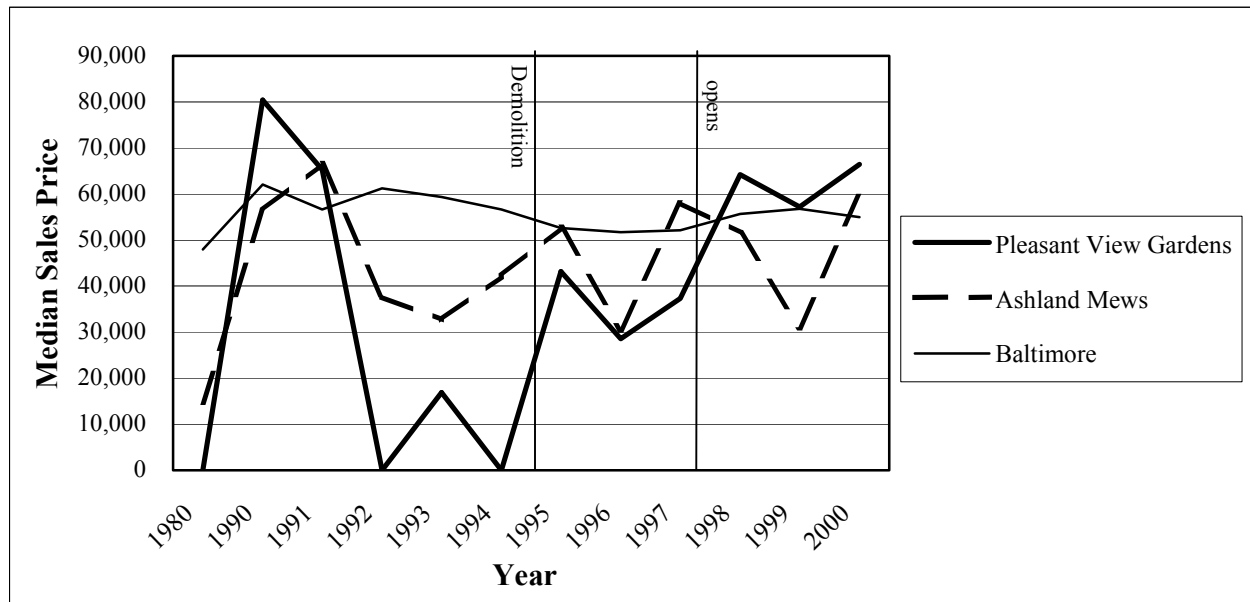
Ashland Mews also contains a middle-class enclave of homeowner units, the Ashland Mews Condominiums, which consist of approximately 200 neat, two-story, red brick rowhouses built or rehabilitated in the early 1980s. Similar to Baltimore, which saw an insignificant one percent decline in homeownership rates from 1990 to 2000, Ashland Mews saw no change in its homeownership rate over the decade. Douglass Homes lost its sole four homeownership units during the same time period. (Appendix Table 4.5 includes more detailed data on homeownership.)

Median sales prices in Pleasant View Gardens have generally been rising since the redevelopment. During this period, median sales prices in the city have flatlined.

As shown in Figure 4.13, sales prices in Ashland Mews have been somewhat erratic, presumably because of the small number of sales, ranging from 4 to 14, which are the basis for these calculations. However, prices increased by six percent from 1990 to 2000. Neighborhood residents interviewed believe their property values are increasing and add that when their

neighbors have moved--a decision based on a desire for more space not on a desire to leave Ashland Mews--they have had little difficulty finding buyers.

Figure 4.13
Median Sales Price (2000\$):
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Source: Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services (2000).

The number of construction permits issued for new buildings or renovations in Pleasant View Gardens, Douglass Homes, and Ashland Mews declined from 1994 to 2000. (More detailed data on construction and renovation permits are included in Appendix Table 4.5.)

Economic Development

Significant economic development has been occurring along Pleasant View's southern border on Fayette Street and along Gay Street, just east of the HOPE VI redevelopment. This activity is summarized in Figure 4.14. Most of this activity, however, is not a spillover effect. A prime example is the \$54 million juvenile justice center under development. However, city officials attribute some of the activity to Pleasant View's improved image. An official at the Baltimore Development Corporation reported that the decision by the Fairfax County, Virginia-based Peterson Company to sign a letter of intent to build a Safeway on the southern end of Oldtown Mall is a long-term positive spillover effect from Pleasant View. Other plausible spillovers include a new used car dealer that opened along Fayette Street within the past five years, and the reopening of a restaurant along Orleans Street.

One the other hand, several buildings along the northern end of the block containing the Pleasant View Gardens senior center have recently been vacated. These include an apartment building in an old school house, part of the Schoolhouse Apartments initiative, which closed in

the late 1990s. Because the closure resulted from a citywide decision, it cannot be viewed as negative spillover.

The Ashland Mews neighborhood is almost completely residential, so it has seen little change in economic activity since the demolition and rebuilding of Pleasant View.

Delays of final plans for the Johns Hopkins biotech park have stalled development in the areas east of Pleasant View Gardens closer to the hospital. Experts have confidence that once the park is built, it is likely to significantly improve its surrounding area, including the Douglass Homes and Ashland Mews areas.

Figure 4.14
Actual and Proposed Developments:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Tracts

Development	Location	Status	Affected by Hope VI
Safeway	Old Bel Air Market site	Letter of intent signed	Yes
Oldtown Mall	500 block of N. Gay St.	Pending	Yes
Bank One Building	1001 E. Fayette St.	Completed 2000	Yes
Chesapeake Advertising	901 E. Fayette St.	Completed 2001	Yes
Juvenile Justice Center	200 block of N. Gay St.	To be completed 2003	No
Biotech Park	North of Hopkins Medical Center	Pending	No

Sources: Interviews with three arm's length experts (2002); *The Baltimore Sun* (2002).

Crime

From 1990 to 2000, crime rates in the Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood declined considerably more than in the city as a whole. Crime rates also declined in Ashland Mews, while they increased in Douglass Homes.

Figure 4.15
Synopsis of Crime Measures:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Number of violent crimes	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1990, 1998
Number of auto thefts	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1990, 1998-2001
Number of juvenile arrests	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1996-1999
Number of property burglaries	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1998-2001
Perception	Interviews: 14 arm's-length experts, 11 indigenous experts, 9 business owners, and 10 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures, such as robberies and assaults, were not relevant to findings. Crime data from Pleasant View Gardens, Douglass Homes, and Somerset Homes did not reveal consistent patterns.

Violent Crime

Decreased crime rates in Pleasant View Gardens support defensible space and New Urbanism theories, which suggest that building designs that encourage a sense of ownership of common areas help prevent crime. As shown in Table 4.5, Pleasant View Gardens saw a sharp decline in overall crime in the 1990s. The number of violent crimes dropped from 251 in

Table 4.5
Crime, by Type:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1990-2001

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Baltimore
Number of violent crimes, 1998 (per 100 people)	80 (2.0)	46 (6.0)	78 (2.0)	14,421 (2.2)
Number of violent crimes, 1990 (per 100 people)	251 (15.0)	30 (4.0)	84 (2.0)	16,174 (2.2)
Number of auto thefts, 2001 (per 100 people)	24 (0.9)	17 (1.6)	20 (0.6)	7,622 (1.2)
Number of auto thefts, 1990 (per 100 people)	58 (3.0)	8 (1.0)	25 (1.0)	8,380 (1.2)
Number of property burglaries, 2001 (per 100 people)	29 (1.1)	10 (1.0)	17 (0.5)	10,041 (1.5)
Number of property burglaries, 1998 (per 100 people)	60 (1.8)	23 (3.2)	53 (1.7)	13,939 (2.1)
Number of juvenile arrests, 1999 (per 100 people)	44 (1.7)	23 (2.2)	78 (2.2)	9,141 (1.4)
Number of juvenile arrests, 1996 (per 100 people)	41 (1.2)	49 (6.8)	78 (2.4)	10,488 (1.6)

Sources: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Note: 2000 population numbers used for the demoninators in the "rate per 100" calculations for 1999 and 2001. All other rates for intercensal years are based on population estimates.

1990 to 80 in 1998, or from 15 per 100 residents in 1990 to just two per 100 residents in 1998. Ashland Mews and Baltimore City also experienced a reduction of crime during this period. In Douglass Homes, however, violent crimes increased from 30 in 1990 to 46 in 1998, or from four per 100 residents in 1990 to six per 100 residents in 1998. Some Douglass Homes residents believe that this increase was caused by the relocation of Lafayette Courts residents to Douglass Homes, explaining that the relocated Lafayette Courts residents have a lower standard of behavior than that cultivated within Douglass Homes. (Appendix Table 4.6 provides more detailed on crime in Pleasant View Gardens and adjacent neighborhoods.)

Automobile Theft

Automobile theft declined in Pleasant View and Ashland Mews from 1990 to 2001, following trends in Baltimore city. Conversely, auto thefts in Douglass Homes increased from eight in 1990 to 17 in 2001. Property burglaries declined in all areas.

The area surrounding Johns Hopkins Hospital is monitored by an extensive private security force. Hospital administrators believe this is the reason crime levels in their area have remained relatively constant since Pleasant View's construction. Likewise, the downtown area is monitored day and night by neighborhood street patrols and street cameras funded by the Downtown Partnership, a coalition of downtown businesses.

Juvenile Crime

Juvenile crime data date back only to 1996 so we cannot compare the pre- and post-HOPE VI periods. The Pleasant View Gardens neighborhood had a small increase in its juvenile crime rate, from 41 in 1996 to 44 in 1999. Since the Pleasant View development had no residents in 1996, these arrests were clearly arrests of children from Somerset Homes or elsewhere in the neighborhood. The juvenile crime rate declined by 13 percent in the city over the same period, while it remained stable in Ashland Mews.

Perception of Crime

Respondents from Pleasant View Gardens itself reported feeling safe on the streets at night and in their homes, which is partly attributable to the presence of a new police substation in the development. Stirling Street residents, who live in the same neighborhood but outside the HOPE VI development, perceived increased crime. Nearby, Oldtown Mall has an on-duty policeman who regularly patrols the shopping street. The Ashland Mews homeowners interviewed felt that drug activity had increased over the past decade. For example, they indicated that buyers park in the condominium parking lot and cross Central Avenue to buy drugs. Nonetheless, they did not perceive an overall change in crime, a perception that is supported by quantitative data. While they reported feeling safe inside their homes, they worry about the safety of nearby parks for children. Douglass Homes residents interviewed reported a sense that crime has increased in the neighborhood as a result of the relocation of former Lafayette Courts residents. This increase is also supported by quantitative data.

School Effects



Because the number of elementary age dents in Pleasant View Gardens is small, their impact on elementary school test scores could not be very sizable. The most obvious spillover effect of the implosion of Lafayette Courts on schools was the closing of Charles Carroll of Carrollton Elementary School in September 2001, due to low enrollment and the age of the building. Elementary students now attend Thomas Hayes Elementary, in the northeast corner of the Pleasant View tract, and City Springs Elementary School, located outside of our study area and just north of Little Italy.¹ Test scores indicate Charles Carroll of Carrollton is a comparable school to Thomas Hayes. Yet its closure meant a loss of ownership and community for neighborhood parents. A synopsis of measures of the school effects we examined is shown in Figure 4.16.

Figure 4.16
Synopsis of School Effects Measures:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Dates
MSPAP Scores	Maryland State Department of Education Maryland School Performance Report	1993-2001
Interviews	2 arm's-length experts and 3 residents	October-November 2002

Note: other measures observed, such as CTBS scores, attendance rates, and free and reduced lunch rates did not follow a consistent pattern

Scores for students at Thomas Hayes Elementary School increased through the late 1990s. As shown in Table 4.6, the percent of Thomas Hayes students with satisfactory composite MSPAP scores in the third and fifth grades was well below the city average before 1995. After 1996, the difference declined as the Thomas Hayes scores mirrored the increase in city scores, although the school's scores remained below the city average in 2001. The percent of eighth-grade students with satisfactory scores at Dunbar Middle School increased, from well below the city average in 1993 to less than two points below the city average in 2001. In all cases, however, the scores are much lower than the satisfactory level for the state. (Appendix Table 4.7 provides additional data on school effects.)

Table 4.6
Lafayette Courts/Pleasant View Gardens:
MSPAP Composite Scores 

Measure	Thomas Hayes Elementary	Dunbar Middle	Baltimore
Percent 5 th grade students scoring satisfactory on MSPAP, 2001	17.20	NA	25.30
Percent 5 th grade students scoring satisfactory on MSPAP, 1993	8.10	NA	10.70
Percent 8 th grade students scoring satisfactory on MSPAP, 2001	NA	17.30	19.00
Percent 8 th grade students scoring satisfactory on MSPAP, 1993	NA	4.10	8.70
Maryland State standard	70	70	70

Source: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

Note: NA = not applicable.

Image

Through the mid-1990s, media coverage focused primarily on crime in Lafayette Courts. After redevelopment, the number of articles featuring the area dropped significantly. In general, the community surrounding Pleasant View Gardens does not appear to have much of an independent identity, being overshadowed by JHMI. A synopsis of measures of image indicators we examined is shown in Figure 4.17.

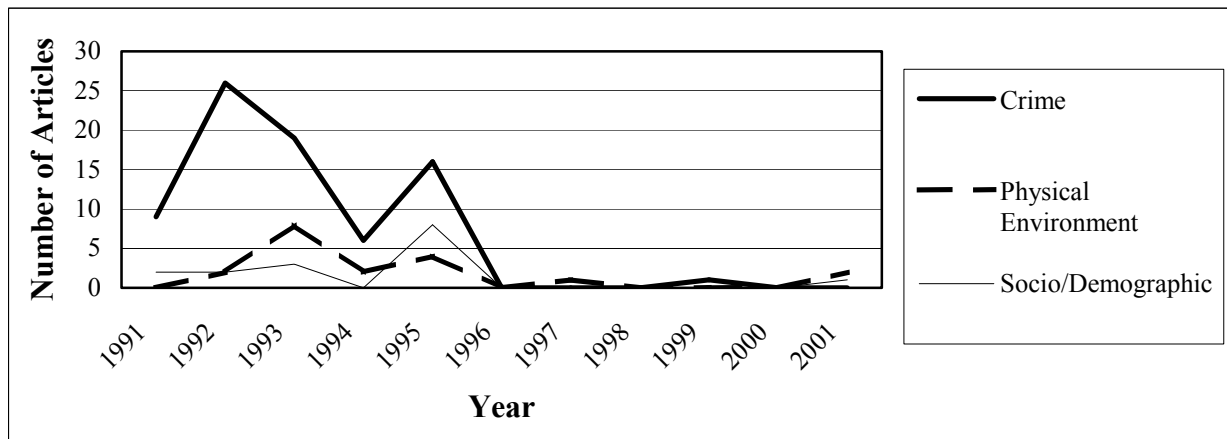
Figure 4.17
Synopsis of Image Measures:
Pleasant View Gardens and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Newspaper articles	<i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	1990-2002
Perception of image	Interviews with 14 arm's-length experts; 11 indigenous experts; 9 business owners and 10 residents	October-November 2002

Newspaper Articles

An extensive review of *The Baltimore Sun* articles from 1994 to the present revealed a marked improvement in the portrayal of the Lafayette Courts/Pleasant View Gardens area. As shown in Figure 4.18, the number of articles highlighting crime in the area dropped precipitously after Lafayette Courts' implosion. A similar pattern occurred for articles on physical environment and on demographics and socioeconomics.

Figure 4.18
Negative Newspaper Articles:
Lafayette Courts/Pleasant View Gardens, 1991-2001



Source: *The Baltimore Sun* (1991-2002).

Interviews

Residents, community leaders, and arm's-length experts agreed that the Pleasant View Gardens development itself is a great improvement over the previous public housing development, Lafayette Courts. They view it as physically attractive, clean, and well kept. Ashland Mews and Douglass Homes residents and indigenous experts feel their neighborhoods are overshadowed by the development activity at Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions. Administrators within the hospital security force still view themselves as surrounded by very distressed areas, although they believe the area to their north is more dangerous than their southern and western neighbors.

In general, the neighborhood surrounding Pleasant View Gardens does not have a clear identity. Instead, it is splintered into small middle-class enclaves, public housing projects, and Oldtown Mall. The officials and residents we interviewed see Oldtown Mall as a site for potential improvement, especially if the Safeway grocery store locates there. Developers have a general sense that the area will change dramatically over the next five to 10 years. They believe--and hope-- that the development in the Inner Harbor East and Little Italy will continue to travel north, eventually encompassing and transforming the Oldtown area.

Key Findings

The redevelopment of Lafayette Courts has served as a catalyst for neighborhood renewal in minor ways. General agreement exists that the Pleasant View development itself is doing well; it is well-kept and clean, and has not hampered other development in the area along Fayette and Gay Streets. While it cannot be said that the improvements along Fayette Street would not have happened without the redevelopment, the evidence indicates that support for the renewal was greater because of Pleasant View. Development along Gay Street, on the other hand, was more strongly influenced by the city's decision to build a \$54 million juvenile justice center along the southern end of Gay Street.

One clear positive economic spillover has been a letter of intent for a Safeway further north on Gay Street, at the base of the Oldtown Mall. Residents and community leaders had made several attempts over a decade to attract a grocery store to this location, but it was the Pleasant View development that has, at least in part, made negotiations more promising than ever. Negative spillover was felt by the merchants of the Oldtown Mall, who lost some of their customer base with the demolition of Lafayette Courts. Additionally, population loss led to the closing of Charles Carroll of Carrollton Elementary School, also a negative spillover effect because of the loss of ownership and community.

Economic forces stronger than Pleasant View have affected the Central Business District and the Midtown/Belvedere areas. In addition, the redevelopment has not had a significant impact on Ashland Mews, perhaps because Ashland Mews is geographically separated from Pleasant View Gardens by the Oldtown area and a wide park between Monument and Madison Streets. JHMI and its own continuing development is the strongest influence on Ashland Mews.

Douglass Homes, the public housing project located a block from Pleasant View, has decidedly not improved since Pleasant View was built. The area saw an increase in female-headed households with at least one child and an increase in unemployment. Most people would assume that a reduction in poverty concentration would have led to decreased crime in surrounding areas. However, violent crimes increased in Douglass Homes after Pleasant View Gardens was completed, possibly because crime was displaced from Lafayette Courts to Douglass Homes with the relocation of 33 households. Crime data did not change much in Ashland Mews.

Although some of the surrounding areas felt negative and positive spillover effects, the general consensus among city officials, real estate developers, and other experts is that it is too soon to draw broad conclusions about spillover effects of Pleasant View Gardens. Further examination will likely show that while Pleasant View's health aids in the area's renewal, the

development will be affected by the adjacent areas more than it affects them--that is, Hopkins' further growth, the new Broadway Overlook and Flag House Courts, and further growth in the Central Business District are as likely to exercise influence on Pleasant View Gardens as the other way around.

Endnotes

¹Most middle-school students attend Dunbar Middle School, also in the Pleasant View tract, while others attend Lombard Middle School, located next to City Springs. High school students attend either Dunbar High School, a magnet school that requires a certain grade point average for entry, or Southern High School, south of the Inner Harbor in the Federal Hill area. The dropout rate for Dunbar High School was less than half of the city's in 1993 and 2001. However, this can be directly attributed to the school's status as a magnet school.



Appendix Table 4.1
Population and Demographic Data:
Lafayette Courts / Pleasant View Gardens

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Central Business District	Midtown / Belvedere	Baltimore
Population						
Total population, 2000	2,611	1,039	3,593	1,739	2,926	651,154
Total population, 1990	3,828	855	3,568	1,683	2,410	736,014
Total population, 1980	4,349	1,927	2,677	1,933	2,366	786,775
Percent change in population, 1990-2000	-31.79	21.52	0.70	3.33	21.41	-11.53
Percent change in population, 1980-1990	-11.98	-55.63	33.28	-12.93	1.86	-6.45
Percent change in population, 1980-2000	-39.96	-46.08	34.22	-10.04	23.67	-17.24
Percent black population, 2000	90.43	86.72	95.66	41.35	33.36	64.34
Percent black population, 1990	98.07	85.03	95.63	34.22	23.24	59.21
Percent black population, 1980	97.93	60.72	97.87	14.33	22.53	54.80
Family Characteristics						
Number of households, 2000	1,231	540	1,136	903	1,980	257,788
Number of households, 1990	1,340	414	1,229	850	1,637	276,484
Number of households, 1980	1,319	801	1,054	978	1,664	281,414
Number of female-headed households with at least one child, 2000	299	178	286	0	0	34,329
Number of female-headed households with at least one child, 1990	721	87	398	11	21	46,163
Number of female-headed households with at least one child, 1980	755	148	355	8	60	37,186
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 2000	748	265	978	98	139	161,353
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1990	1,703	221	928	37	117	179,869
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1980	2,143	478	1,020	50	116	211,943

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Appendix Table 4.2
Socioeconomic Characteristics:
Lafayette Courts / Pleasant View Gardens

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Central Business District	Midtown / Belvedere	Baltimore
Employment						
Unemployment rate, 2000	0.26	0.45	0.33	0.10	0.06	0.11
Unemployment rate, 1990	0.25	0.13	0.18	0.06	0.05	0.09
Unemployment rate, 1980	0.30	0.13	0.19	0.09	0.09	0.11
Income						
Median household income, 2000	7,944	12,550	11,546	29,094	29,548	30,078
Median household income, 1990	6,535	6,895	10,394	39,595	33,956	30,747
Median household income, 1980	9,177	13,915	7,380	28,775	22,602	25,437
Per capita income, 2000	8,569	7,269	7,148	20,984	23,900	16,978
Per capita income, 1990	3,876	7,071	9,246	35,546	29,586	15,965
Per capita income, 1980	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000). CPI adjusted where applicable.

Appendix Table 4.3
Physical Environment:
Lafayette Courts/Pleasant View Gardens

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Central Business District	Midtown/Belvedere	Baltimore
Vacant Housing						
Number of housing units, 2000	1,200	610	1,270	1,197	2,244	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	1,398	594	1,264	1,126	1,953	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	1,562	850	1,119	1,144	1,912	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000	74	54	64	255	254	42,281
Number of vacant housing units, 1990	58	180	35	276	316	27,222
Number of vacant housing units, 1980	243	49	65	166	248	21,045
Percent vacant housing units, 2000	6	9	5	21	11	14.07
Percent vacant housing units, 1990	4	30	3	25	16	8.96
Percent vacant housing units, 1980	16	6	6	15	13	6.96
Abandoned Housing						
Number of abandoned houses, 2002	3	0	18	5	9	13,830
Number of abandoned houses, 2001	2	0	16	14	8	13,619
Number of abandoned houses, 2000	2	0	14	14	9	12,298
Number of abandoned houses, 1999	2	0	9	15	7	11,844
Number of abandoned houses, 1998	2	0	10	15	7	11,310
Number of abandoned houses, 1997	4	0	11	13	4	10,609
Number of abandoned houses, 1996	3	0	10	11	2	9,269
Number of abandoned houses, 1995	4	0	6	14	2	8,222
Number of abandoned houses, 1994	4	0	6	13	2	7,196
Number of abandoned houses, 1993	3	0	3	12	2	6,871
Number of abandoned houses, 1992	3	1	6	9	2	6,334
Number of abandoned houses, 1991	3	1	2	11	2	5,923

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000). Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2002a; 2002b).

Appendix Table 4.4
Neighborhood Nonprofits/Community Based Organizations:
Lafayette Courts/Pleasant View Gardens

Organization	Focus	Budget	Paid Staff	Leader	Affected by Pleasant View Gardens?
McKim Center	Children and families in East Baltimore	\$343,000	Yes	Dwight Warren	No
Pleasant View Gardens Resident Council	Tenants of Pleasant View Gardens	Yes	None	Darryl Royster	Yes
Homeowners Association of Pleasant View Gardens	Homeowners of Pleasant View Gardens	None	None	Keyo Flanagan	Yes
Douglass Homes Tenant Council	Residents of Douglass Homes	None	None	Martha Benton	Yes
Ashland Mews Condos I	Residents of Ashland Mews Condos	None	None	Marie Robinson	No
Ashland Mews Condos II	Residents of Ashland Mews Condos	None	None	Dorothy Fleming	No
Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition, Inc.	Services and economic development for the Empowerment Zone area	\$2,500,000	Yes	Lawrence Cager, Jr.	No
Oldtown Mall Merchant's Association	Oldtown businesses	\$7,000	None	Stanley Zerden	Yes
Old Town Council "A" PAC	Social services in Old Town area	None	None	Lee Douglass	No
Latrobe Resident Council, Inc.	Latrobe residents	None	None	Keith Brockington	No
Monument East Tenant Council	Monument East tenants	None	None	Marie West	No
Stirling Street Neighbors	Stirling St. homeowners	None	None	John Lee	No
Somerset Tenant Council	Somerset residents	\$5,000	None	Iris Blanding	No
East Baltimore Community Corporation	Services and economic development	\$2,500,000	Yes	Marie Washington	No

Sources: Interviews with 11 indigenous experts (2002); www.guidestar.com (2002); Baltimore City Department of Planning (2000).

Appendix Table 4.5
Economic Activity:
Lafayette Courts / Pleasant View Gardens

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Central Business District	Midtown/Belvedere	Baltimore
Homeownership Rate						
Number of homeowners, 2000	60	0	196	30	188	129,879
Number of homeowners, 1990	37	4	204	19	226	134,424
Number of homeowners, 1980	NA	3	NA	NA	NA	132,735
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.05	0.00	0.16	0.03	0.08	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.03	0.01	0.16	0.02	0.12	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1980	NA	0.00	NA	NA	NA	0.44
Home Value						
Median owner-occupied home value, 2000	96,100	0	57,000	17,500	98,300	62,600
Median owner-occupied home value, 1990	92,032	49,023	72,423	130,727	127,328	65,107
Median owner-occupied home value, 1980	119,633	NA	47,159	102,076	119,633	46,410
Median owner-occupied home value percent change, 1990-2000	4.42	-100	-21.30	-81.61	-22.80	-5.70
Median owner-occupied home value percent change 1980-1990	-23.07	0	55.57	28.07	6.43	35.98
Construction and Renovation						
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 2001	15	10	13	214	31	0
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, August 1999 - July 2000	6	7	9	97	6	0
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 1994	23	17	9	187	32	0

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000). Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002c).

Appendix Table 4.6
Crime and Safety:
Lafayette Courts / Pleasant View Gardens

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	Douglass Homes	Ashland Mews	Central Business District	Midtown/Belvedere	Baltimore
Property Crime						
Number of property burglaries, 2001	29	10	17	200	114	10,041
Number of property burglaries, 2000	54	17	40	281	99	10,965
Number of property burglaries, 1999	36	14	54	196	54	11,846
Number of property burglaries, 1998	60	23	53	267	94	13,939
Number of property burglaries, per 100 people, 2001	1.1	1	.5	11.5	3.9	1.5
Number of property burglaries, per 100 people, 2000	2.1	1.6	1.1	16.2	3.4	1.7
Number of property burglaries, per 100 people, 1999	1.4	1.3	1.5	11.3	1.8	1.8
Number of property burglaries, per 100 people, 1998	1.8	3.2	1.7	24.3	3.7	2.2
Number of auto thefts, 2001	24	17	20	96	37	7,622
Number of auto thefts, 2000	22	19	28	139	28	7,986
Number of auto thefts, 1999	33	9	17	105	28	7,091
Number of auto thefts, 1998	42	24	25	108	37	7,628
Number of auto thefts, 1990	58	8	25	165	75	8,380
Number of auto thefts, per 100 people, 2001	0.9	1.6	0.6	5.5	1.3	1.2
Number of auto thefts, per 100 people, 1990	3	1	1	4	3	1
Juvenile Crime						
Number of juvenile arrests, 1999	44	23	78	9	-	9,141
Number of juvenile arrests, 1998	30	29	96	17	5	9,862
Number of juvenile arrests, 1997	52	40	91	13	3	10,596
Number of juvenile arrests, 1996	41	49	78	11	9	10,488
Number of juvenile arrests, per 100 people, 1999	1.7	2.2	2.2	0.5	-	1.4
Number of juvenile arrests, per 100 people, 1998	0.9	4.1	3.1	1.5	0.2	1.6
Number of juvenile arrests, per 100 people, 1997	1.5	5.6	2.9	1.1	0.1	1.6
Number of juvenile arrests, per 100 people, 1996	1.2	6.8	2.4	9	0.4	1.6
Violent Crime						
Number of violent crimes, 1998	80	46	78	475	78	14,421
Number of violent crimes, 1990	251	30	84	619	86	16,174
Rate of violent crimes per 100, 1998	2	6	2	43	3	1
Rate of violent crimes per 100, 1990	15	4	2	16	4	0

Sources: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Appendix Table 4.7
School Quality:
Lafayette Courts/Pleasant View Gardens

Measure	Thomas Hayes	Charles Carroll	Dunbar Middle	Dunbar High	Baltimore
MSPAP Composite Scores	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Percent of 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	17.30	NA	NA	NA	25.30
Percent of 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	8.10	NA	NA	NA	10.70
Percent of 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	NA	17.30	NA	19.00
Percent of 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	NA	4.10	NA	8.70
Students Receiving Free and Reduced Meals	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Percent elementary students, 2001	95.20	96.10	NA	NA	76.20
Percent elementary students, 1993	82.10	96.10	NA	NA	67.70
Percent middle school students, 2001	NA	NA	92.50	NA	76.30
Percent middle school students, 1993	NA	NA	88.40	NA	67.70
Percent high school students, 2001	NA	NA	NA	41.40	47.50
Percent high school students, 1993	NA	NA	NA	47.00	67.70
Attendance Rates	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Elementary school, 2002	93.60	NA	NA	NA	94.00
Elementary school, 1993	92.40	NA	NA	NA	93.00
Event Dropout Rate	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
High school, 2002	NA	NA	NA	0.33	10.32
High school, 1993	NA	NA	NA	6.31	18.53

Source: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

NA=not applicable.

CHAPTER 5

THE TOWNES AT THE TERRACES

Executive Summary

This chapter explores the neighborhood effects of the HOPE VI redevelopment of the Townes at The Terraces, formerly known as Lexington Terrace, on the immediate neighborhood of East Poppleton and the surrounding neighborhoods of West Poppleton, Hollins Market, Barre Circle, Barre Village, the University of Maryland, and the west side of the Central Business District.

Lexington Terrace opened in 1959 and consisted of five high-rise and 20 low-rise buildings. The maximum capacity of the public housing project was 2,100 occupants. Lexington Terrace was demolished in 1996, making way for redevelopment of the area into the Townes at The Terraces: 203 townhouse-style public housing units, 100 homeownership townhouse units, a low-rise senior living center with 88 units, a business complex, and a community center/school (that has yet to be completed). Directly across from The Terraces is Poe Homes, a low-rise public housing development. Poe Homes was renovated prior to the HOPE VI project and was not redeveloped with Lexington Terrace.

We have not seen the effects of two underlying theories of HOPE VI, New Urbanism and income mixing, on demographic and socioeconomic indicators. The Terraces has not had positive spillover effects on population stabilization or unemployment rates, and has had limited effects on social trust and interaction in the adjacent neighborhoods. An increase in median income in The Terraces and adjacent neighborhoods upholds homeownership theories, as does an increase in the median sales price of residential property. However, the limited increase in other economic activity suggests that any impact of the homeownership units is restricted to property sales at present.

Only one significant economic development project has been announced that will benefit East and West Poppleton and Hollins Market, despite Poppleton's designation as an Empowerment Zone. In May 2002, the University of Maryland (UMD) declared its intention to cross Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. Some evidence suggests that the removal of the high-rise Terraces did have some influence on UMD's decision.

It appears that the mixed-income population and New Urbanism design have failed so far to reduce crime. Property crime rates increased across the area in the late 1990s, in contrast to a decline across Baltimore. Violent crime statistics have not changed significantly in the immediate neighborhood, while they fell in West Poppleton and Baltimore city.

Lexington Terrace Elementary School was closed in 1996 and was demolished with the high-rises. We were unable to evaluate the impact of the HOPE VI redevelopment on school quality, because children from The Terraces make up only a small percentage of students at the local schools. The image of the HOPE VI site and the immediate neighborhood improved after Lexington Terrace was demolished. The tone of news coverage of West Poppleton and Hollins Market remained relatively constant throughout the 1990s.

Introduction

The Lexington Terrace HOPE VI site is located in Southwest Baltimore. Figure 5.1 shows its location within the city, its immediate neighborhood, and its adjacent neighborhoods.

Figure 5.1
The Townes at the Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods



Note: Census tract number noted under neighborhood name.

The Neighborhoods

The Townes at the Terraces

The Lexington Terrace high-rise community was demolished in July 1996, under the HOPE VI program. Figure 5.2 describes the characteristics of both the high-rise complex and the new Townes at The Terraces. The Terraces are privately managed by Edgewood Management Company, a partner in the HOPE VI redevelopment.

The Terraces contain about half as many units as the old high-rise complex. Currently, the development has a total of 391 units with approximately 98 percent occupancy. Table 5.1 indicates that The Terraces/East Poppleton has a higher black population, lower median income, and higher percentage of female-headed households with children than the surrounding neighborhoods.

Figure 5.2
Lexington Terrace HOPE VI Site Profile

	Lexington Terrace	The Townes at The Terraces
Year housing opened	1959	1999
Building type	25 buildings, including 5 high-rises and 20 low-rises	303 two-story houses, one low-rise senior apartment building
Number of units	677 public housing units	391 housing units 203 two story public townhouse units, 100 for sale low-income affordable townhouse units 47 public housing and 41 market rate senior housing rental units
Maximum population	Approximately 2,100	NA
Features	Community recreational and educational facilities adjacent to the development	Commercial developments: an "Electronic Village" (computer center); a 11,180 square foot Rite-Aid; and a 41,637 square foot, three-story office building

NA=not applicable.

One component of the original design for the new Terraces community, which has yet to be completed, is a 15,000-square foot community/recreation/day care center. The proposed center includes a new math and science technology school with grades from pre-kindergarten through eighth grade. According to an interview, the project is being designed and is scheduled for completion in 2005. (Appendix Table 5.1 includes more detailed data on demographic trends.)

Table 5.1
Snapshot of the Neighborhoods in 2000

Key Neighborhood Statistics	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	University of Maryland	Hollins Market	Baltimore
Total population	1,988	1,271	1,338	2,105	651,154
Median income	\$9,313	\$21,154	\$12,857	\$24,223	\$30,281
Percent black population	98	95	47	59	64
Percent white population	1	4	39	34	32
Female-headed households with children	44	27	2	23	25

Source: Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

In October 2001, the Lexington Terrace Homeowners Association hired an attorney to explore owner complaints of broken promises under the HOPE VI program. The former head of the Homeowners Association said they had been reporting since 1999 that The Terraces management had not responded to complaints about the lack of 24-hour security, safety hazards and shoddy construction, a lack of landscaping and trees, and the failure to complete the school/community center. Although no formal actions were taken, the former head of the

Homeowners Association expressed frustration that property managers were ineffective and unresponsive.

The management company believes that it cannot resolve all the issues raised by the Homeowners Association on its own. The developers, Struever Brothers, Eccles and Rouse, the managers, Edgewood Management Company, and the Community Management Association (CMA) all share responsibility for addressing community problems and the ultimate success of The Terraces community. Representatives from Edgewood Management have expressed their awareness of tenant complaints and stated that they are actively seeking solutions by working with Struever and the CMA to resolve issues raised by residents.

The Terraces/East Poppleton

The eastern half of Poppleton shares census tract 1801 with The Terraces. Directly west of The Terraces in East Poppleton is Poe Homes, another low-rise public housing development which opened in 1940. According to two resident interviews, Poe Homes is considered its own neighborhood. Poe Homes was not redeveloped along with Lexington Terrace, which could limit spillover by reducing the size of the development's footprint. We found only mixed anecdotal support for this idea, however.

Additional commercial activity is concentrated on Baltimore Street, which divides the East and West Poppleton neighborhoods from the Hollins Market neighborhood. The Independent Dialysis Foundation Parkview Center, opened in 1997, is located on the edge of East Poppleton and Hollins Market between Baltimore and Hollins Streets.

West Poppleton

The western half of Poppleton lies within census tract 1802. Although West Poppleton is mostly residential, the neighborhood includes Harbor City High School (HCHS), a citywide school for at-risk youth, and the commercial strip along Baltimore Street continues through West Poppleton.

Neighborhoods Excluded from Study

Like Pleasant View Gardens (Chapter 4), Heritage Crossing (Chapter 6), Broadway Overlook (Chapter 7), and Flag House Courts (Chapter 8), we have narrowed our focus area.

Census tract 1803 encompasses Hollins Market and a small portion of Barre Circle and Barre Village (for simplicity, the neighborhood is referred to as Hollins Market). The historic Hollins Market and a middle-class enclave known as "Little Lithuania" are two of the distinguishing features of this neighborhood.

Hollins Market has had greater racial diversity and a higher income level and homeownership rate than the surrounding neighborhoods. However, the black population in Hollins Market dramatically increased from 36 percent of the population in 1990 to 59 percent in 2000, while the percentage of white residents declined from 60 percent to 34 percent,

respectively, over the same period. Hollins Market also experienced a 13 percent decline in median income during the 1990s.

These data make clear that Hollins Market has experienced a significant change in its demographics over the past decade. Although residents interviewed attribute the decline of the neighborhood to displaced residents and crime from the demolition of the Lexington Terrace high-rises, records show that few Lexington Terrace residents were relocated to the surrounding neighborhoods. Because these trends differ greatly from those in the other neighborhoods, and because their causes are unrelated to the intervention at The Terraces, Hollins Market does not figure prominently in our analysis.

Another adjacent neighborhood that is difficult to analyze in the present context is encompassed by census tract 402, which is dominated by the UMD and the west side of the Central Business District. The neighborhood is mostly institutional, with many of the university's professional schools lying within the tract, making it more difficult to observe demographic and social change than in the other residential neighborhoods in our study. Historically, Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard has served as a physical and psychological barrier, isolating this neighborhood from East and West Poppleton and Hollins Market. Because of its demographic characteristics and geographic isolation, this neighborhood also did not figure prominently in this analysis.

Other Factors that Could Produce Neighborhood Effects

In addition to the HOPE VI intervention, other state and federal programs have been initiated in and around the study neighborhoods that could also have generated neighborhood effects. As shown in Figure 5.3, these programs include the designation of the Poppleton Village Center as part of Baltimore's Empowerment Zone and the Maryland state "HotSpots" crime fighting initiative.

Figure 5.3
Other Interventions:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Type	Sponsor	Primary Goals	Focus Area
Empowerment Zone	Baltimore City	Business development; job training; crime reduction; homeownership opportunities; community and business partnerships.	The Terraces/East Poppleton; West Poppleton; Hollins Market; part of UMD.
HotSpot Communities Initiative	State of Maryland	Crime prevention.	Harlem Park; Washington Village.

The Baltimore Empowerment Zone was created in 1994 and is independent of the HOPE VI project. The federal authorizing legislation allowed each zone up to 10 years to carry out its strategy. Baltimore's original plan specified a five-year implementation period. The Baltimore Empowerment Zone is divided into seven village centers. The Poppleton Village Center

includes all of The Terraces/East Poppleton, West Poppleton, Hollins Market, and part of UMD, as shown in Figure 5.3.

The goal of the Empowerment Zone is to transform zone neighborhoods into locations of choice for living, working, or running a business. Tax incentives and grants are intended to stimulate business development, facilitate job readiness and training, reduce crime and increase public safety, provide homeownership opportunities, and encourage community and business partnerships. Baltimore created the Empower Baltimore Management Corporation (EBMC) to implement the program and complete most of its work by the end of 2002, with a few initiatives continuing beyond 2004. To date, Poppleton Village Center activity has been concentrated in the UMD vicinity, thus limiting the impact of the Empowerment Zone on East and West Poppleton.

In 1997, Maryland's HotSpot Communities Initiative provided grants for aggressive law enforcement and crime prevention targeted at several high-crime Baltimore neighborhoods. Harlem Park, immediately to the north of The Terraces, and Washington Village, south of Hollins Market, are designated HotSpots. The concentration of crime fighting in these neighborhoods could displace crime into East and West Poppleton and Hollins Market, thereby increasing their crime rate.

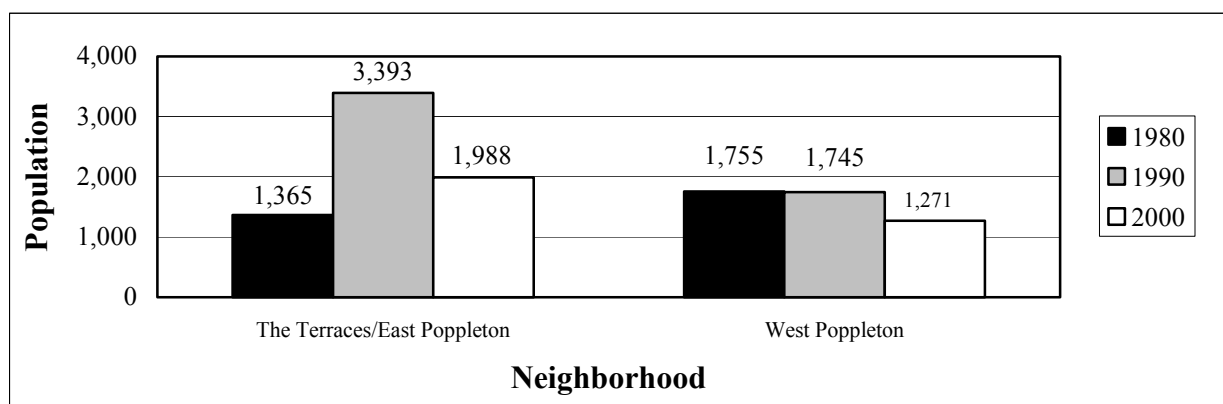
Demographic and Socioeconomic Indicators

During the 1990s, population dropped in The Terraces and in East Poppleton and in West Poppleton, the racial composition remained stable, and unemployment declined in The Terraces/East Poppleton and increased in West Poppleton. It is unclear whether any of these changes signify a neighborhood effect.

Population

Figure 5.4 shows a population increase from 1,365 in 1980 to 3,393 in 1990 in The Terraces/East Poppleton, which is due, in part, to a cooperative housing project started in the

Figure 5.4
Population Trends:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



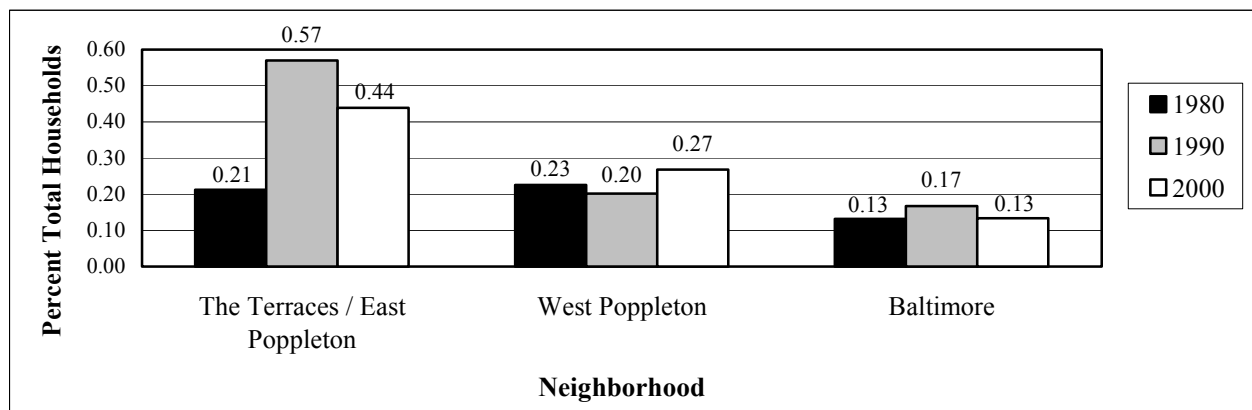
Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

early 1980s. Part of the neighborhood was cleared to develop the housing units in 1980, and residents were moved into the cooperative before the 1990 Census. About half of the population decline from 1990 to a population of 1,988 in 2000 is attributable to the loss of population in The Terraces resulting from the redevelopment. This decline is paralleled by a decline in population in West Poppleton. Baltimore's population also declined from 1990 to 2000 by 12 percent. (Appendix Table 5.1 includes more detailed data on population trends.)

Household Type

As shown in Figure 5.5, the percentage of households headed by a female in The Terraces/East Poppleton decreased from 56.99 percent in 1990 to 43.93 percent in 2000, a total decrease of 13 percentage points. This decrease follows the trend of Baltimore, which also experienced a more modest decline by 3.5 percentage points. These trends are contrary to that experienced in West Baltimore, where there was an increase of over 6 percentage points between 1990 and 2000. (Appendix Table 5.1 includes more detailed data on household trends.)

Figure 5.5
Female-Headed Households with Children:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



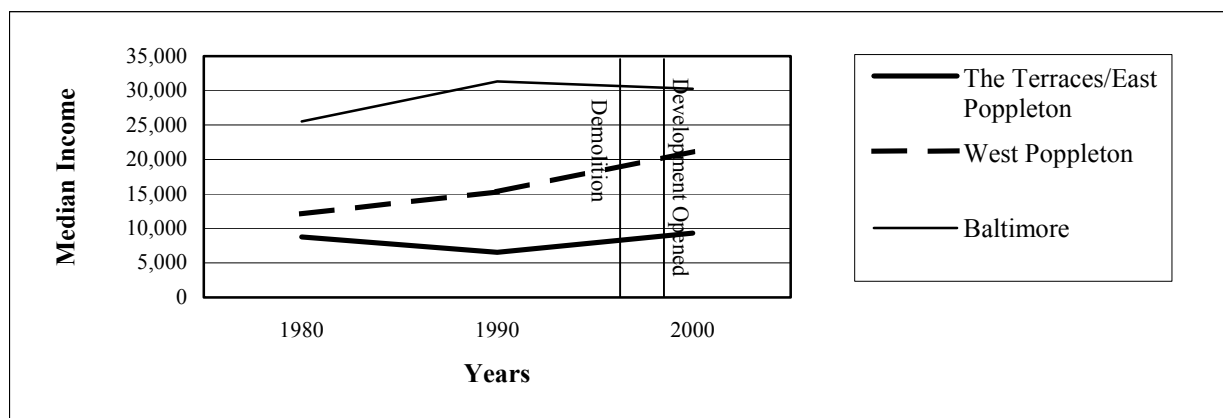
Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Income

As shown in Figure 5.6, Baltimore's median household income declined during the 1990s, but increased in The Terraces/East Poppleton, from \$6,549 in 1990 to \$9,313 in 2000. Data indicate that within The Townes at The Terraces, median household income is substantially higher than in the surrounding neighborhood, at \$13,092 for renters and \$53,300 for homeowners (Edgewood Management Corporation 2002).

West Poppleton's 38 percent increase in median household income is consistent with the trend in The Terraces/East Poppleton, and may be evidence of a positive spillover effect. (Appendix Table 5.2 includes more detailed data on socioeconomic characteristics.)

Figure 5.6
Median Income (2000\$):
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

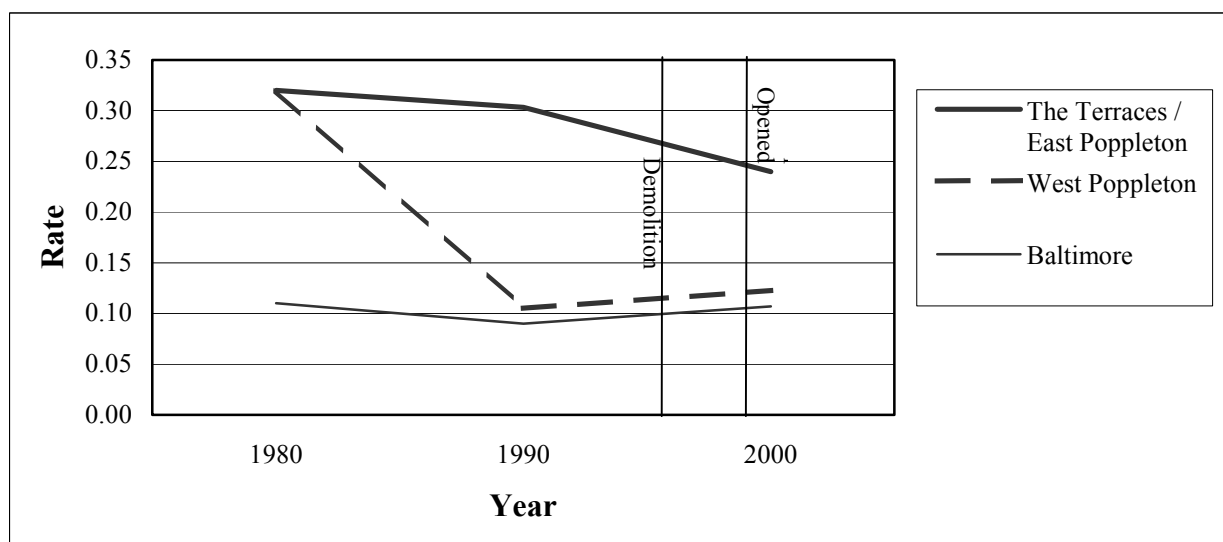


Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Unemployment

After a decline in the unemployment rate in Baltimore in the 1980s, the rate increased by about two percentage points from 1990 to 2000, as shown in Figure 5.7. By contrast, the unemployment rate in The Terraces/East Poppleton decreased throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Figure 5.7
Unemployment Rate:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

The more pronounced decline during the 1990s may be partly due to the stricter screening requirements and income mixing for The Terraces. Unemployment rates during the 1990s

increased slightly in West Poppleton, by one percentage point, after a very dramatic decline during the 1980s. This pattern is the reverse of what we would expect if The Terraces had a positive neighborhood effect on West Poppleton. (Appendix Table 5.2 includes more detailed data on unemployment trends.)

Physical Environment

Findings for the physical environment are mixed. The number of abandoned houses declined in both The Terraces/East Poppleton and West Poppleton. The number of vacant units declined in The Terraces/East Poppleton but increased in West Poppleton. The physical environment at The Terraces improved dramatically while West Poppleton saw no improvement. A synopsis of indicators we examined is shown in Figure 5.8.

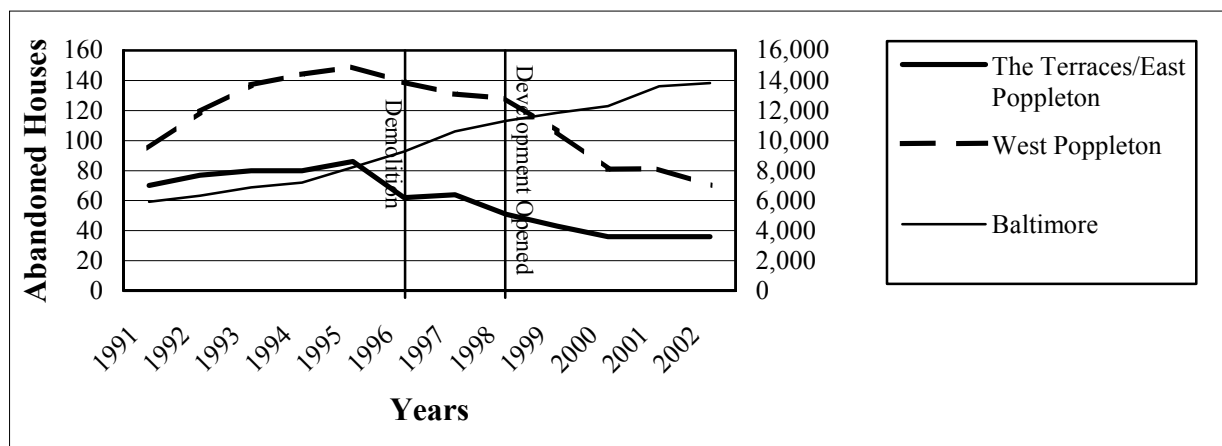
Figure 5.8
Synopsis of Physical Environment Measures:
Terraces/East Poppleton and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Abandoned houses	Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development	1991-2002
Vacant houses	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Trash; beautification efforts; graffiti; streets and sidewalks	On-site observations	October 2002
Interviews	8 Community groups; 11 experts; 6 residents 4 businesses	October-November 2002

Abandoned Houses

As shown in Figure 5.9, from 1995 to 2002, the number of abandoned houses dropped

Figure 5.9
Abandoned Houses:
The Terraces, Adjacent Neighborhoods and Baltimore, 1991-2002



Sources: Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development (2002a; 2002b).

sharply in East and West Poppleton, from 86 to 36 and 149 to 70, respectively. In contrast, the number of abandoned units in the city increased through the decade. (Appendix Table 5.3 includes more detailed data on the physical environment.)

Vacant Housing

As seen in Table 5.2, vacancy rates in The Terraces/East Poppleton declined by more than 50 percent in the 1980s, and then stabilized in the 1990s. Part of the explanation is the introduction of a cooperative housing project in the early 1980s, which resulted in many housing

Table 5.2
Physical Environment:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Vacant Housing Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	Baltimore
Number of housing units, 2000	905	635	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	1,295	712	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	707	652	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000	106 (11.71)	143 (22.52)	42,281 (14.07)
Number of vacant housing units, 1990	144 (11.12)	116 (16.29)	27,222 (9.06)
Number of vacant housing units, 1980	176 (24.89)	128 (19.63)	21,045 (6.96)

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Note: Numbers in parenthesis represent percentage of total.

units being cleared out for redevelopment that were resettled prior to the 1990 Census. This decline in vacant housing represents a more favorable trajectory than in either West Poppleton or Baltimore, both of which experienced increases during the 1990s. (Appendix Table 5.3 includes more detailed data on the physical environment.)

Upkeep

Information on the physical environment at Lexington Terrace before the demolition in 1996 is anecdotal. In an article in the *People's Tribune*, former residents of the Lexington Terrace high-rises described buildings as “falling apart,” with broken elevators and a lack of responsiveness to requests for maintenance and assistance from city agencies. From 1991 to 1996, negative articles in *The Baltimore Sun* on the physical environment at Lexington Terrace outnumbered positive articles three to one. There is little information available regarding the physical environment for the rest of East Poppleton and West Poppleton during the same time period.

As shown in Table 5.3, we observed The Terraces to have good upkeep. This observation supports the theory that homeowners demand and uphold high standards of community maintenance. An alternate explanation is that the strict requirements placed on residents of The Terraces have produced higher levels of upkeep. The rest of East Poppleton and West Poppleton have average to poor maintenance. Three residents interviewed suggested that the improvements made in the immediate Terrace community had not spilled over to the other neighborhoods.

Table 5.3
Observation Ratings on Physical Environment Measures¹
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	The Terraces	East Poppleton excluding The Terraces	West Poppleton
Blocks Observed	11 (73) ²	19 (73)	32 (82)
Trash presence	5	3.4	3.5
Beautification efforts	4.8	2	1
Graffiti presence	5	4.3	3.7
Maintenance of streets and sidewalks	4.9	3.2	3
Parks and playgrounds (presence and upkeep)	5	3	NA

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Note: 1. Rated on a scale where 1 = worst and 5 = best.

2. Numbers in parenthesis represent percentage of total.

Social Environment

There was little change in the activity of community organizations, and we saw mixed evidence on changes in social interaction. While some residents reported tensions between homeowners and residents, others saw positive interactions between the homeowners at The Terraces. A synopsis of measures of the social environment we examined is shown in Figure 5.10.

Figure 5.10
Synopsis of Social Environment Measures:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Community organizations	Baltimore City Department of Planning	November, 2002
Neighborhood activity	On-site observations	October, 2002
Interviews	11 experts; 9 community organizers; 4 businesses; 6 residents	October-November, 2002

Community Organizations

There are numerous community organizations registered and operating in the immediate and adjacent study tracts, as seen in Figure 5.11. The main community organizations in The Terraces/East Poppleton and West Poppleton are the Lexington/Poe Tenant Council, The Terraces Homeowners Association, Communities Organized to Improve Life (COIL), and Southwest Visions. The Homeowners Association was the only group established after the redevelopment of The Terraces. These community organizations have taken an activist role in the neighborhood in response to specific issues. However, the only instance of collaborative action reported in interviews was the cooperative work of several groups to oppose a liquor

license for a local restaurant. A synopsis of community groups we examined is shown in Figure 5.11.

Figure 5.11
Community Group Synopsis:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Community Organizations	Status	Date of Inception	Executive Director	Budget
Barre Circle Community Association.	Active	1980	Susan dosReis	Dues/Fees
Citizens Planning and Housing Association (CPHA)	Active	1942	Alfred W. Barry III	Yes
Communities Organized To Improve Life (COIL)	Active	NA	Judith Bennick	Yes
Dorothy Day Academy	NA	NA	Katherine Neuslein, RSM	NA
House of Mercy	NA	NA	Fran Lorenzi	NA
Legal Advocacy Program	NA	NA	Patti Schminke	NA
Lexington/Poe Tenants Council	Active	NA	Lorraine Ledbetter	NA
Mary Frances Cunningham Ministries	Active	1997	Sister Margaret Brogden	Yes, grants and donations
Mercy Southwest Alliance Inc.	Active	NA	David Brannon	NA
Poppleton Cooperative Inc.	NA	NA	NA	NA
Poppleton Village Community Dev. Corp.	NA	NA	NA	NA
Southwest Visions	Active	1983	Brenda Diamond	Yes, grants
Sowebo Merchants Association	NA	NA	NA	NA
St. Peter's Adult Learning Center	Active	1982	Sister Paula Cockerham	Yes, partial state funding
Village Center of Poppleton, Inc.	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: Baltimore City Department of Planning (2000); Personal interviews (2002).

NA=not applicable.

Neighborhood Activity

As summarized in Table 5.4, we observed similar levels of neighborhood activity across the neighborhoods.

Table 5.4
Neighborhood Activity:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods¹

	The Terraces	East Poppleton including The Terraces	East Poppleton excluding The Terraces	West Poppleton
Blocks Observed	11 (73) ²	19 (73)	30 (73)	32 (82)
Neighborhood Activity	2.5	2.71	2.8	2.5

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Note: 1. Rated on a scale where 1=least and 5 =most.

2. Numbers in parenthesis represent percentage of total.

Social Trust

The resident interviews we conducted painted a very mixed picture of social interaction and trust. Two residents stated that there were tensions between the homeowners at The Terraces and renters at both The Terraces and Poe Homes. However, three residents disagreed, reporting that residents exhibit a degree of social trust and interaction. Another resident praised the employment and day care services provided by The Terraces, and noted that she knew and regularly interacted with her neighbors.

Economic Activity

A synopsis of economic activity indicators we studied is shown in Figure 5.12. Increases in median residential sales prices and in construction permits in both The Terraces/East Poppleton and West Poppleton after the development of The Townes at The Terraces suggest a strong positive neighborhood spillover. But, we did not find any significant spillover effects on homeownership rates, building permits, or the number of properties sold, while the impact on public and private investment is unclear. Despite the area's designation as an Empowerment Zone, we found only a limited impact on East and West Poppleton. (Appendix Table 5.6 includes more detailed data on economic activity.)

Figure 5.12
Synopsis of Economic Activity:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Homeownership rates	Census Data	1980; 1990; 2000
Building permits	Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002)	2000-2002
Median sales price	Baltimore Bureau of Information Technology Services (2000)	2000-2002
Owner-assessed value of home unit	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Private investment	Independent Dialysis Foundation University of Maryland Biotech Park	Completed 1997 Announced 2002

Homeownership Rate

Although the homeownership rate increased in The Terraces/East Poppleton between 1990 and 2000, most of this increase is probably attributable to the homeownership units in The Terraces, with little additional positive impact on the rest of East Poppleton. Table 5.5 shows that the homeownership rate in West Poppleton remained stable (as did the city's rate), suggesting no spillover from the HOPE VI project on West Poppleton.

Table 5.5
Homeownership Rate:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	Baltimore
Number of homeowners, 2000	75	150	129,869
Number of homeowners, 1990	45	184	134,424
Number of homeowners, 1980	35	104	132,735
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.08	0.24	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.03	0.26	0.44
Homeownership rate, 1980	0.05	0.16	0.44

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

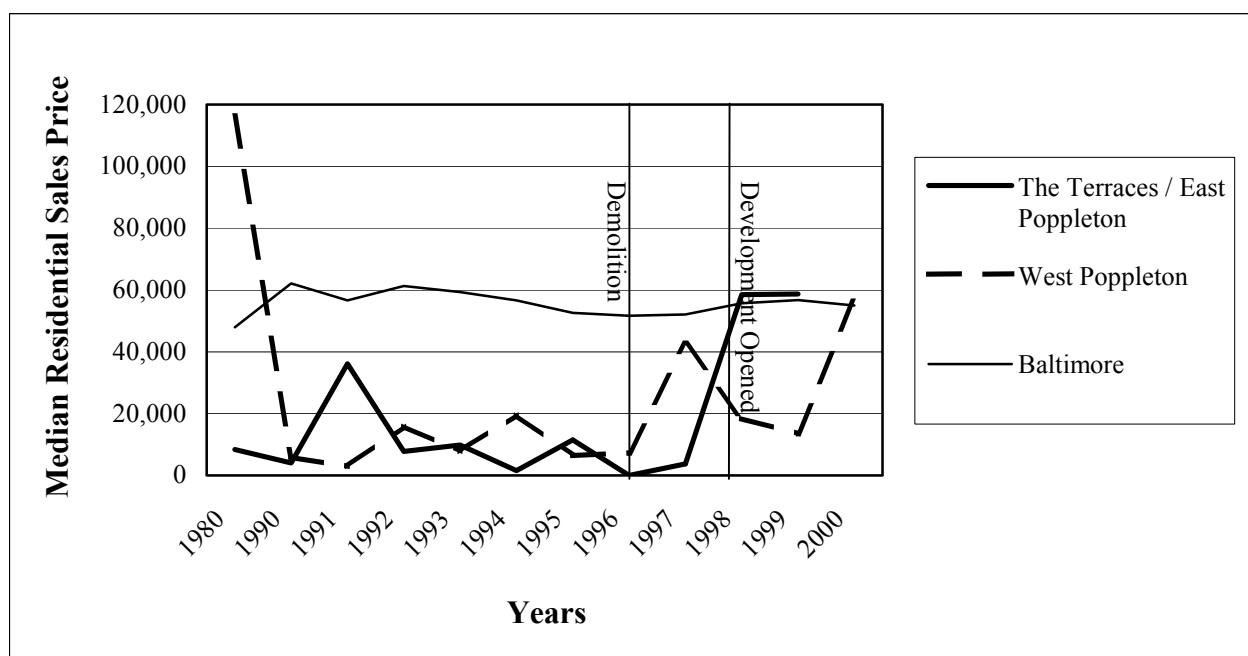
Property Maintenance, Improvement, and Building Activity

Requests for construction and renovation permits are lower in The Terraces/East Poppleton than in the surrounding neighborhoods, which is not surprising given the recent renovation of the area. (These data are summarized in Appendix Table 5.6).

Median Residential Sales Prices

Figure 5.13 depicts the sharp rise in the median sales price for residential properties in the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods starting in the mid-1990s. Even when controlling for the townhomes sold as part of the development, an increase is evident. These increases take on particular significance because they follow several sharp declines during the 1980s in both East Poppleton and West Poppleton, and are stronger than the city's mild increase in median sales prices. Although both the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood and West Poppleton historically had much lower median sales prices than the city, by 2000 these prices were quite similar, at nearly \$60,000. Finally, the city's median prices were relatively stable in the latter half of the 1990s, while those in the HOPE VI area were dramatically increasing. Although the number of sales in any given year is small¹ resulting in considerable fluctuation in the trend for any given neighborhood, taken together, this evidence lends strong support to the positive spillovers of the HOPE VI intervention. (Appendix Table 5.6 includes more detailed data on economic activity.)

Figure 5.13
Median Residential Sales Price Trends (2000\$):
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Source: Baltimore Bureau of Information Technology Service (2000).

Self-Reported House Value

Owners' perceptions of their property value as reported in the decennial census produces a different pattern, as shown in Table 5.6. This discrepancy may occur because owners may be out of touch with the market. Although the self-reported median values, in constant dollars, for the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood are nearly identical to the 2000 median sales price in the administrative data, this represents a decrease in value compared to 1990. There is an even greater discrepancy in West Poppleton, where the decline is more than \$15,000. (Appendix Table 5.6 includes more detailed data on economic activity.)

Table 5.6
Median Value of Owner-Occupied Homes (2000\$):
The Terraces, Adjacent Neighborhoods and Baltimore, 1980-2000

Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	Baltimore
Median home value of owner-occupied homes, 2000	\$55,200	\$48,600	\$70,435
Median home value of owner-occupied homes, 1990	\$68,513	\$64,845	\$74,856
Median home value of owner-occupied homes, 1980	\$20,196	\$20,196	\$54,892

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Private Investment

The business center of The Terraces, which was part of the HOPE VI redevelopment plan, consists of an 11,180 square foot Rite-Aid, a 41,637 square foot three-story office building, and 141 off-street parking spaces. Construction was completed for both buildings in 1999, and both are occupied. The primary occupants of the office building are the Housing Authority of Baltimore City Police, the Enterprise Social Investment Corporation, and a credit union.

We interviewed numerous members of local community groups and city officials to determine whether new private or public investments have been made in the adjacent neighborhoods since the reopening of The Terraces. Two theories underlying HOPE VI suggest that mixed-income housing with higher homeownership rates would lead to greater stability in the neighborhood and, therefore, would encourage investment. To date, one development project--the Independent Dialysis Foundation--has been completed and another significant project has recently been announced.

The Independent Dialysis Foundation opened its \$2.5 million Parkview Center in 1997. The Center is located between Baltimore and Hollins Streets, although the building fronts onto Hollins Street, which is primarily residential. While the dialysis center was the first major recent private investment in the community, its construction is not attributable to HOPE VI, as the center purchased the property prior to the announcement of the demolition.

In May 2002, the University of Maryland announced its intention to cross Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. Over the next 10 years, UMD plans to invest \$1 billion to build a biotech park, business offices, and student housing on Baltimore Street. Two city officials remarked that the demolition of the Lexington Terrace high-rise created a better investment environment for UMD and may have played a role in their decision. However, one UMD official stated that the renovation of The Terraces had little to do with the university's decision, and was primarily motivated by cheap and available land. They also emphasized the university's commitment to improving the physical environment, generating local jobs, and decreasing crime by utilizing the university's police force.

While there is enthusiasm in the community for the new project, it is coupled with skepticism that the university's investment will significantly benefit the existing population of the neighborhood. Three business owners along Baltimore Street expressed hope that UMD's investment could revitalize the area. One nonprofit housing group said it had received numerous inquiries from private developers since the university's announcement. In contrast, two community group leaders fear that the biotech park will displace existing residents, or that there will be a lack of substantive interaction between UMD and neighborhood residents. A synopsis of measures of the crime indicators we examined is shown in Figure 5.7.

Crime

Crime data paint a mixed picture: between 1998 and 2001, violent crime rates increased in the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood and decreased in adjacent neighborhoods. Property burglaries, such as auto theft, increased sharply in the study neighborhoods while staying steady in Baltimore. Juvenile arrests decreased across the study area as well as in Baltimore.

(Appendix Table 5.7 includes more detailed data on crime trends.) A synopsis of measures of the crime indicators we examined is shown in Figure 5.14.

Figure 5.14
Synopsis of Crime:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Number of violent crimes	Baltimore City Police Department	1990, 1998
Number of auto thefts	Baltimore City Police Department	1990, 1998, 2000, 2001
Juvenile arrests	Baltimore City Police Department	1996-1999
Number of property burglaries	Baltimore City Police Department	1998-2001
Interviews	11 experts; 9 community organizers; 4 businesses; 6 residents	October-November, 2002

Identifying neighborhood effects for crime rates is difficult because the HotSpots initiative is located just to the north, in Harlem Park, and to the south, in Washington Village, of our study neighborhoods. The concentration of crime fighting efforts in these neighborhoods could displace it in East and West Poppleton and Hollins Market, increasing their crime rates.

In addition, although the Housing Authority of Baltimore City Police maintain crime data for all city public housing developments, these data are combined for The Townes at The Terraces and Poe Homes, the adjacent public housing development. Therefore, we cannot comment on crime trends within the Terraces alone.

Violent Crime

Violent crime rates declined across our study area from 1990 to 1998, while they increased slightly in Baltimore over the same time period (see Appendix Table 5.7). Rates for violent crime continued to decrease in West Poppleton and Baltimore from 1998 to 2001. In The Terraces/East Poppleton, however, rates increased slightly. Crime in The Terraces and Poe Homes combined declined only temporarily during the late 1990s. Assaults in The Terraces and Poe Homes, for example, declined from 75 in 1995 to 44 in 1999, and then increased to 69 in 2000. Violent crimes in The Terraces/East Poppleton went from 3.72 per 100 residents in 1998 to 4.32 per 100 residents in 2001, suggesting that the redevelopment has not made the adjacent neighborhoods safer. The Terraces/East Poppleton was the only neighborhood to have experienced an increase in homicides since 1996, going from one murder that year to seven in 2001.

Juvenile Crime

Juvenile arrests, shown in Table 5.8, generally declined from 1996 to 1999 across the study area, as they did in Baltimore. The one exception was West Poppleton, where arrests increased from 14 in 1998 to 24 in 1999, as shown in Appendix Table 5.7.

Table 5.8
Juvenile Arrests:
The Terraces, Adjacent Neighborhoods and Baltimore, 1996 and 1999

Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	Baltimore
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1996	68	33	10,488
Juvenile arrests (less than 19 yrs.), 1999	30	24	9,141
Juvenile arrests per 100 residents, 1996	2.22	2.12	1.56
Juvenile arrests per 100 residents, 1999	1.51	1.89	1.40

Source: Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Note: 2000 population numbers used for the demoninators in the "rate per 100" calculations for 1999 and 2001. All other rates for intercensal years are based on population estimates.

Property Crime

Table 5.9 shows that auto thefts decreased from 1990 to 1998 in The Terraces/East Poppleton and in West Poppleton. Subsequently, auto thefts increased significantly across all study neighborhoods between 1998 and 2001, in contrast to Baltimore's modest increase. In West Poppleton, burglaries increased dramatically from 1.4 to 2.6 per 100 residents from 1998 to 2001. Burglaries also increased in East Poppleton, while they decreased citywide. Thus, the HOPE VI development does not appear to have had positive spillover effects on property crime.

Table 5.9
Property Crime:
The Terraces, Adjacent Neighborhoods and Baltimore, 1990-2001

Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	Baltimore
Number of auto thefts, 2001	37	15	7,816
Number of auto thefts, 1990	22	7	8,380
Auto thefts per 100 residents, 2001	1.86	1.18	1.20
Auto thefts per 100 residents 1990	0.64	0.39	1.07
Number of property burglaries, 2001	31	33	10,041
Number of property burglaries, 1998	25	21	13,939
Property burglaries per 100 residents, 2001	1.56	2.60	1.60
Property burglaries per 100 residents, 1998	1.04	1.38	2.14

Sources: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002).

Note: 2000 population numbers used for 1999 and 2001 rates. All other rates for intercensal years are based on population estimates.

School Effects

Lexington Terrace Elementary School was closed in 1996 and demolished along with the high-rises. The development of a new pre-kindergarten through eighth grade school proposed as part of the HOPE VI has not yet occurred. This was viewed as a very attractive element of the HOPE VI project and its absence is a source of ongoing frustration for the neighborhood. According to an interview, the project is being designed and is scheduled for completion in 2005.

We were unable to evaluate the impact of the HOPE VI redevelopment on student achievement because children from The Terraces make up only a small percentage of students at the local elementary and high schools.

Image

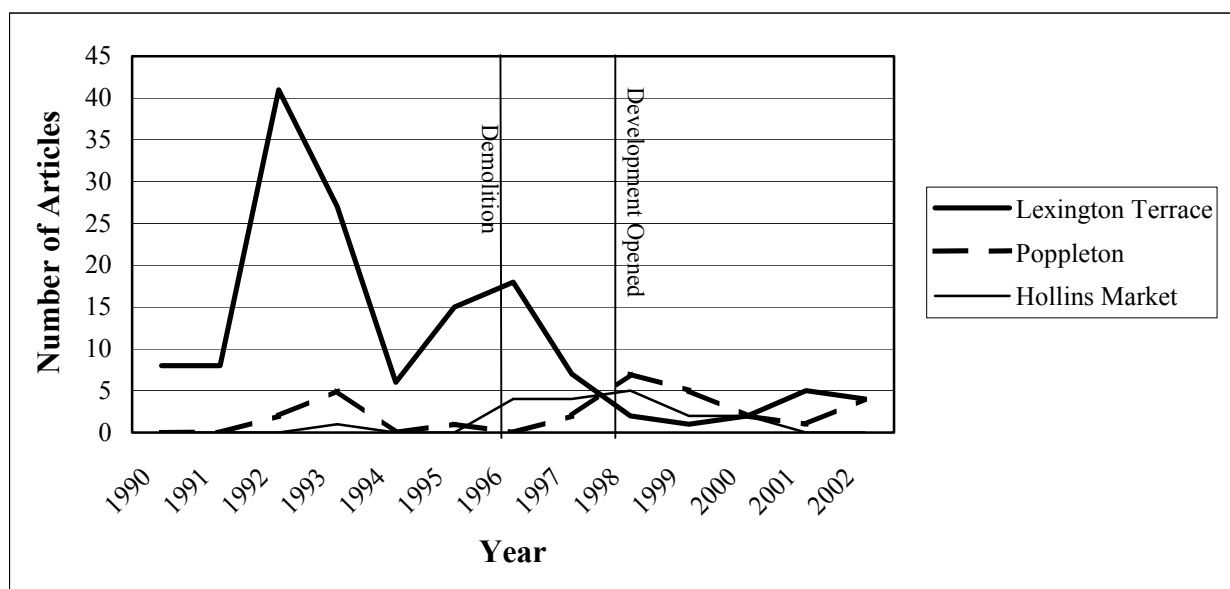
A synopsis of measures of the image indicators we examined is shown in Figure 5.14.

Figure 5.14
Synopsis of Image:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Newspaper articles	<i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	1996-2002
Interviews	11 experts; 9 community organizers 4 businesses; 6 residents	October-November 2002

As shown in Figure 5.15, the reporting dramatically shifted from predominantly negative in the period 1990-1996 and during the redevelopment years of 1996-1998, to predominantly positive in the “post” period of 1999-2002. This change in the amount of negative coverage reflects, and is likely to help perpetuate, a positive image of The Terraces neighborhood. Poppleton’s coverage remained relatively unchanged while Hollins Market had a spike of negative coverage during the redevelopment of The Terraces, and then reverted back to mostly positive coverage.

Figure 5.15
Negative Newspaper Articles:
Lexington Terrace/The Towns at the Terraces, 1990-2002



Sources: *The Baltimore Sun* (1990-2000).

Feedback from residents, community organizations and arm's-length experts indicated that the cosmetic and structural changes at The Terraces significantly improved the housing development. However, interviews with two Poppleton residents and representatives from two community organizations suggested that during this same period, there was a general decline in the neighborhoods surrounding The Terraces. These interviewees did not, however, indicate whether they felt that this decline was a natural change happening in the neighborhoods and occurring independent of the redevelopment of The Terraces, or resulting directly from The Terraces.

Key Findings

As shown in Figure 5.6, two general trends stand out in our examination of neighborhood effects of the HOPE VI redevelopment of Lexington Terrace. Economic data generally reveal a positive spillover effect, while those linked to social environmental factors exhibited negative spillover effects on the adjoining neighborhoods.

HOPE VI was developed with the view that a mixed-income population with a high rate of homeownership stabilizes a neighborhood, raises property values, and attracts economic activity. Positive spillover effects post-HOPE VI are evident in both The Terraces/East Poppleton and West Poppleton. Median income increased, the median value of residential property sold increased, and public and private investments were apparent. The availability of day care and job training offered by The Terraces, and more stringent screening requirements for tenants of The Terraces, may help sustain these positive trends.

Figure 5.16
Synopsis of Key Findings

Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton
Demographic	+	+
Physical environment	+	+
Social environment	+/-	+/-
Economic activity	+	+
Crime	-	-
School effects	-	NA
Image	+	+

On the other hand, HOPE VI has not had its intended effects on indicators of social cohesion and social capital. Violent crime and property crime in the immediate neighborhood have remained constant or increased post-HOPE VI. Tenants and homeowners at The Terraces show little evidence of interacting with each other or the larger community. We found a lack of awareness and coordination between The Terraces, local community organizations, and city programs. Each seemed to operate independently of each other, which limits the development of positive social capital and the potential for positive neighborhood spillovers. Effective coordination and information sharing among the management companies, developers, community organizations, and residents may also facilitate positive spillovers in the

neighborhood. Thus, it appears that redeveloping housing according to mixed-income or New Urbanism principles may not be sufficient to ensure positive spillover effects in the short-term.

As suggested in the discussion of theory related to high-rises, effective coordination between management development companies, city services and community centers might be more important than New Urbanism principles in fostering positive spillover effects. Some homeowners in the terraces complained that the unmet expectations had demoralized residents and did not inspire them to improve their properties or the neighborhood. One clear lesson learned from The Terraces experience is the importance of clear articulation of expectations, costs, and responsibilities among participants in the process--developers, management, owners, and tenants. Clear communication and understanding are likely to contribute significantly to success of any redevelopment project. However, since The Townes at The Terraces only re-opened in 1998, the suggestive evidence of even some positive spillover effects is impressive.

Endnotes

¹In 1980, the numbers of properties sold in The Terraces/East Poppleton and West Poppleton were 15 and 15, respectively; in 1990, 22 and 21; and in 2000, 9 and 3.

Appendix Table 5.1
Demographic Characteristics:
The Townes at the Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	The Terraces/East Poppleton	West Poppleton	UMD	Hollins Market	Baltimore
Population					
Total population, 2000	1,988	1,271	1,338	2,105	651,154
Total population, 1990	3,393	1,745	1,497	2,237	736,014
Total population, 1980	1,365	1,755	3,181	2,264	786,755
Percent change in population, 1990-2000	-41	-27	-11	-6	-12
Percent change in population, 1980-1990	149	-1	-53	-1	-6
Percent change in population, 1980-2000	46	-28	-1.38	-7	-17
Race					
Percent black population, 2000	98	95	47	59	64
Percent black population, 1990	99	92	56	36	59
Percent black population, 1980	99	90	82	28	55
Percent white population, 2000	1	4	39	34	32
Percent white population, 1990	1	7	38	60	39
Percent white population, 1980	<1	10	17	70	44
Households					
Number of households, 2000	799	492	447	871	257,996
Number of households, 1990	1,151	596	600	835	276,484
Number of households, 1980	575	514	753	695	281,414
Percent female-headed households with children, 2000	351	132	29	201	63,211
Percent female-headed households with children, 1990	656	120	88	121	46,163
Percent female-headed households with children, 1980	122	116	410	91	37,186
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 2000	728	263	61	509	161,353
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1990	1,471	388	234	569	179,819
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1980	444	459	1,215	666	211,943

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Appendix Table 5.2
Socioeconomic Characteristics:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	The Terraces/East Poppleton	West Poppleton	UMD	Hollins Market	Baltimore
Employment					
Unemployment rate, 2000	0.24	0.12	0.09	0.16	0.11
Unemployment rate, 1990	0.30	0.11	0.12	0.14	0.09
Unemployment rate, 1980	0.33	0.32	0.18	0.18	0.11
Income					
Median household income, 2000 (2000\$)	9,313	21,154	12,857	24,223	30,078
Median household income, 1990 (2000\$)	6,549	15,303	21,635	27,716	30,747
Median household income, 1980 (2000\$)	8,770	12,124	9,482	16,202	25,437
Per capita income, 2000 (2000\$)	12,047	13,890	12,740	14,230	16,978
Per capita income, 1990 (2000\$)	4,522	7,716	9,056	13,211	15,965
Per capita income, 1980 (2000\$)	0	0	0	0	0
Education					
High school or equivalent, 2000	340	254	207	261	188,275
High school or equivalent, 1990	567	306	242	294	157,284
High school or equivalent, 1980	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Post-high school, 2000	65	70	345	242	95,030
Post-high school, 1990	72	104	376	414	98,113
Post-high school, 1980	0	0	0	0	0

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Appendix Table 5.3
Physical Environment - Vacant and Abandoned Housing:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	The Terraces/East Poppleton	West Poppleton	UMD	Hollins Market	Baltimore
Vacant Housing					
Number of housing units, 2000	905	635	519	1,160	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	1,295	712	505	1,087	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	707	652	884	939	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000	106	143	72	289	42,281
Number of vacant housing units, 1990	144	116	129	252	27,222
Number of vacant housing units, 1980	176	128	90	175	21,045
Percent vacant housing units, 2000	11.71	22.52	13.87	24.91	14.07
Percent vacant housing units, 1990	11.12	16.29	25.54	23.18	9.06
Percent vacant housing units, 1980	24.89	22.52	13.87	18.64	6.96
Percent change in the percent of vacant housing units, 1990-2000	5.33	38.22	-45.69	7.47	56.99
Percent change in the percent of vacant housing units, 1980-1990	-55.33	-17.01	150.90	24.39	28.82
Abandoned Housing					
Number of abandoned houses, 2002	36	70	4	125	13,830
Number of abandoned houses, 2001	36	81	6	115	13,619
Number of abandoned houses, 2000	36	81	2	115	12,298
Number of abandoned houses, 1999	43	106	2	85	11,844
Number of abandoned houses, 1998	51	128	1	89	11,310
Number of abandoned houses, 1997	64	131	5	86	10,609
Number of abandoned houses, 1996	62	139	5	131	9,269
Number of abandoned houses, 1995	86	149	7	106	8,222
Number of abandoned houses, 1994	80	144	7	103	7,196
Number of abandoned houses, 1993	80	137	6	95	6,871
Number of abandoned houses, 1992	77	119	11	122	6,334
Number of abandoned houses, 1991	70	95	12	112	5,923

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000); Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2002a; 2002b).

Appendix Table 5.4
Neighborhood Organizations:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Community Organizations	Status	Date of Inception	Executive Director	Budget
Barre Circle Community Association.	Active	1980	Susan dosReis	Dues/Fees
Citizens Planning and Housing Association (CPHA)	Active	1942	Alfred W. Barry III	Yes
Communities Organized To Improve Life (COIL)	Active	NA	Judith Bennick	Yes
Dorothy Day Academy	NA	NA	Katherine Neuslein, RSM	NA
House of Mercy	NA	NA	Fran Lorenzi	NA
Legal Advocacy Program	NA	NA	Patti Schminke	NA
Lexington/Poe Tenants Council	Active	NA	Lorraine Ledbetter	NA
Mary Frances Cunningham Ministries	Active	1997	Sister Margaret Brogden	Yes, grants and donations
Mercy Southwest Alliance Inc.	Active	NA	David Brannon	NA
Poppleton Cooperative Inc.	NA	NA	NA	NA
Poppleton Village Community Dev. Corp.	NA	NA	NA	NA
Southwest Visions	Active	1983	Brenda Diamond	Yes, grants
Sowebo Merchants Association	NA	NA	NA	NA
St. Peter's Adult Learning Center	Active	1982	Sister Paula Cockerham	Yes, partial state funding
Village Center of Poppleton, Inc.	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: Baltimore City Department of Planning (2000). Personal interviews (2002).

NA=not applicable.

Appendix Table 5.5
Observation Data for Social Environment¹:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	The Terraces	East Poppleton including The Terraces	East Poppleton excluding The Terraces	West Poppleton	Hollins Market
Blocks observed	11	30	19	32	44
Police activity	4 (.36)	6 (.2)	2 (.11)	3 (.09)	2 (.05)
Drug treatment	NA	NA	NA	1 (.03)	NA
Halfway house	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religious sites	NA	3 (.1)	3 (.16)	14 (.44)	6 (.14)
Soup kitchens	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Note: 1. Absolute numbers with per block averages in parentheses.

NA=not applicable.

Appendix Table 5.6
Economic Activity:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	The Terraces/East Poppleton	West Poppleton	UMD	Hollins Market
Homeownership				
Number of homeowners, 2000	75	150	7	273
Number of homeowners, 1990	45	184	7	271
Number of homeowners, 1980	35	104	12	248
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.08	0.24	0.01	0.24
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.03	0.26	0.01	0.25
Homeownership rate, 1980	0.05	0.16	0.01	0.26
Property Sales				
Number of properties sold, 2000	9	3	3	40
Number of properties sold, 1990	22	21	0	53
Number of properties sold, 1980	15	15	1	58
Median value property sold (\$2000), 2000	\$58,490	\$57,000	\$150,000	\$33,041
Median value property sold (\$2000), 1990	\$8,353	\$5,882	-	\$32,028
Median value property sold (\$2000), 1980	\$10,615	\$116,366	\$17,352	\$19,139
Home Value				
Median owner-occupied home value (2000\$), 2000	\$55,200	\$48,600	NA	\$45,200
Median owner-occupied home value (2000\$), 1990	\$68,513	\$64,845	\$163,750	\$57,509
Median owner-occupied home value (2000\$), 1980	\$20,196	\$20,196	\$43,452	\$23,664
Construction and Renovation				
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 2001	6	15	12	82
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, August 1999 - July 2000	3	9	4	28
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 1994	12	32	13	62

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000); Baltimore City Bureau of Technology Services (2000); Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001-2002c). NA=not applicable.

Appendix Table 5.7
Crime:
The Terraces and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	UMD	Hollins Market	Baltimore
Assaults					
Number of assaults, 2000	149 (69) ¹	60	68	122	26,161
Number of assaults, 1999	100 (44)	72	71	118	29,554
Number of assaults, 1998	127 (46)	74	37	133	32,699
Number of assaults, 1997	(44)	NA	NA	NA	NA
Number of assaults, 1995	(75)	NA	NA	NA	NA
Assaults, per 100 residents, 2000 ²	7.49	4.72	5.08	5.80	4.02
Assaults, per 100 residents, 1998	4.27	4.86	2.56	6.75	5.03
Violent crime					
Number of violent crimes, 2001	158	92	70	80	14,433
Number of violent crimes, 1998	89	68	60	70	17,957
Number of violent crimes, 1990	158	92	138	132	17,942
Violent crime, per 100 residents, 2001	4.32	3.93	5.23	3.80	2.22
Violent crime, per 100 residents, 1998	3.72	4.47	4.15	3.56	2.76
Violent crime, per 100 residents, 1990	4.65	5.25	4.33	5.83	2.28
Property burglaries					
Number of property burglaries, 2001	31	33	18	66	10,041
Number of property burglaries, 2000	27	45	25	64	10,965
Number of property burglaries, 1999	39	31	19	72	11,846
Number of property burglaries, 1998	25	21	16	57	13,939
Property burglaries, per 100 residents, 2001	1.56	2.60	1.35	3.14	1.60
Property burglaries, per 100 residents, 1998	1.04	1.38	1.11	2.89	2.14
Auto theft					
Number of auto thefts, 2001	37	15	25	44	7,816
Number of auto thefts, 2000	21	22	27	64	7,986
Number of auto thefts, 1999	17	16	20	36	7,091
Number of auto thefts, 1998	19	6	21	40	7,628
Number of auto thefts, 1990	22	7	20	30	8,380
Auto theft, per 100 residents, 2001	1.86	1.18	1.87	2.09	1.20
Auto theft, per 100 residents, 1998	0.79	0.39	1.45	2.03	1.17
Auto theft, per 100 residents, 1990	0.64	0.40	0.63	1.33	1.07
Juvenile arrests					
Juvenile arrests (under 18 yrs.), 1999	30	24	2	28	9,141
Juvenile arrests (under 18 yrs.), 1998	39	14	4	25	9,862
Juvenile arrests (under 18 yrs.), 1997	51	13	16	37	10,596

Appendix Table 5.7 (continued)

Measure	The Terraces/ East Poppleton	West Poppleton	UMD	Hollins Market	Baltimore
Juvenile arrests (under 18 yrs.), 1996	68	33	5	45	10,488
Juvenile arrests, per 100 residents, 1999	1.51	1.89	0.15	1.33	1.40
Juvenile arrests, per 100 residents, 1996	2.22	2.12	0.34	2.22	1.56

Source: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Note: 1. Numbers in parentheses represent data for The Terraces only.

2. 2000 population numbers used for the demoninators in the “rate per 100” calculations for 1999 and 2001. All other rates for intercensal years are based on population estimates.

CHAPTER 6

MURPHY HOMES/HERITAGE CROSSING

Executive Summary

The HOPE VI redevelopment of Murphy Homes/Julian Gardens was announced in 1997 and is still in progress. The new development, Heritage Crossing, is expected to be completed by late spring 2003. The project appears to have had only small, if any, transitional or announcement effects on either the immediate vicinity or the adjacent neighborhoods of Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester and Madison Park/Druid Heights.

Transition effects resulting from HOPE VI appear to be almost solely limited to a drop in population in Heritage Crossing. We observed a 68 percent drop in population between 1990 and 2000 in the census tract encompassing the public housing project. This is a dramatic decline, and the relocation of Murphy Homes residents and the general population loss in Baltimore do not account for it. However, we did not observe any significant changes in the physical environment. On-site observations and interviews revealed that the Heritage Crossing development is physically and psychologically isolated from the surrounding neighborhood. Some types of crime have declined in the primary and secondary neighborhoods. However, we cannot attribute this decline solely to HOPE VI because several crime reduction programs have been instituted in nearby Harlem Park. Findings for schools are also inconsistent. While the relocation of former Murphy Homes residents affected student body size at local schools, and one school closed as part of the redevelopment plan, we were unable to correlate these changes to any test score trends.

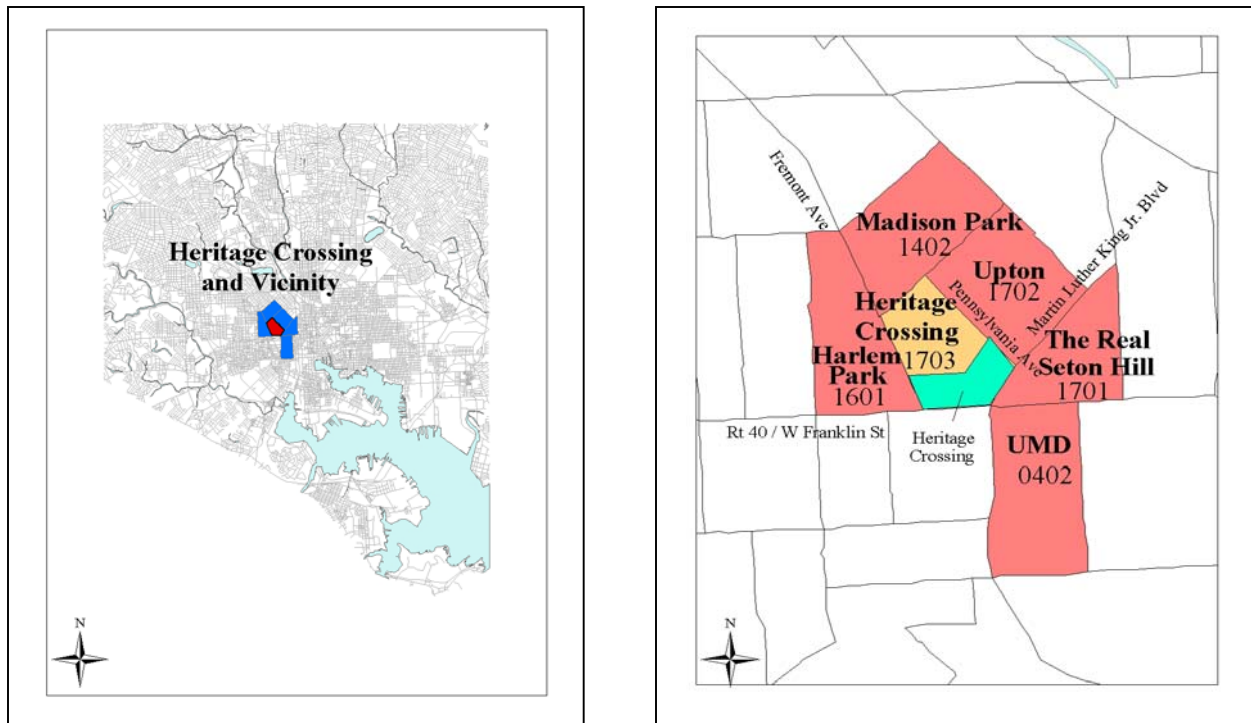
We can tentatively identify a possible change in image and public perception. Substantially fewer newspaper articles in *The Baltimore Sun* have been written about crime in the area since the 1997 announcement of HOPE VI, while articles on economic development have increased. However, qualitative responses from interviews were mixed. Residents, business owners and experts agreed that the demolition of Murphy Homes is a good thing, but questioned whether the Heritage Crossing Development can meet expectations.

Announcement effects directly resulting from HOPE VI appear to be limited as well. There was a spurt of economic investment in the form of home loans and building permits soon after the HOPE VI announcement, but this high level of activity was not sustained, and returned to previous levels by 2000. There also was no evidence of new or proposed commercial investment in the area directly correlated to HOPE VI.

Introduction

George B. Murphy Homes and Emerson Julian Gardens were a public housing project on the west side of Baltimore targeted for redevelopment under the HOPE VI program. Drawing on multiple sources of both quantitative and qualitative data, we examined the effects of this HOPE VI redevelopment on the neighborhood surrounding the former Murphy Homes--now Heritage Crossing--development (census tract 1703) and its surrounding neighborhoods, as shown in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods



Note: Census tract number noted under neighborhood name.

Fremont Avenue runs along one side of the Heritage Crossing vicinity, marking the border of adjoining census tract 1601, which encompasses Harlem Park and the southeast corner of Sandtown-Winchester. Consisting largely of three-story rowhouses built in the 1920s, these neighborhoods are characterized by many abandoned buildings, high unemployment, and drug activity. Similarly, the Madison Park and Druid Heights neighborhoods border the Heritage Crossing vicinity to the north, and together constitute most of census tract 1402. These neighborhoods also consist of rowhouses and have struggled with problems similar to those of Murphy Homes and Harlem Park.

Upton, a busier and more commercial neighborhood, borders the development's northeast side. However, Pennsylvania Avenue physically separates this neighborhood from Heritage Crossing. Although residents of the former Murphy Homes--now Heritage Crossing--may use the Upton grocery store and send their children to schools on Pennsylvania Avenue, this activity encroaches only a few blocks into the census tract (1702) that encompasses Upton. Because the trends exhibited by Upton are largely independent of the Heritage Crossing neighborhood, many of the issues facing these two neighborhoods differ. For this reason, we have omitted census tract 1702 from our analysis, despite its close proximity to our primary tract. We have also omitted the Seton Hill and University of Maryland neighborhoods (in tracts 1701 and 402, respectively) for similar reasons. Martin Luther King Boulevard and Franklin Street/Route 40 run along the south and east side of the former Murphy Homes development, physically separating it from these two neighborhoods. Like Upton, Seton Hill and the University of

Maryland area are both literally and psychologically separated from the Murphy Homes community, and rarely reflect the trends we observe in other adjoining neighborhoods.

Finally, as in other chapters in this report, we refer to the primary and adjoining census tracts we studied by the names of the neighborhoods the tracts encompass rather than by census tract number. While increasing simplicity and clarity, we recognize that we are not providing a complete picture of all of the qualities of these neighborhoods. Furthermore, a number of experts indicated that the name of the former-Murphy Homes' immediate neighborhood is in dispute, with some calling it Harlem Park, some Upton, and many "the former Murphy Homes area." For purposes of easy identification, we have chosen to call the census tract encompassing the former Murphy Homes project and immediate neighborhood the "Heritage Crossing vicinity." When we refer specifically to the development itself, we call it the "Heritage Crossing development." Figure 6.2 details the key attributes of these tracts and the neighborhoods within them.

Figure 6.2
Neighborhood Characteristics:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 2002

Neighborhood	Census Tract	Key Attributes
Heritage Crossing Development and Vicinity	1703	260 new single-family, low-rise homes around a small park and gazebo dating back to the 1880s; many abandoned buildings and vacant lots nearby and little commercial development.
Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester	1601	Many rowhouses, some abandoned; a distressed area including a federally designated Empowerment Zone.
Madison Park/Druid Heights	1402	Many rowhouses and churches; a somewhat distressed area including a Baltimore historic district.
Upton	1702	More commercialized, cultural area containing a small strip mall; several schools and parks; bounded by Pennsylvania and Fremont Avenues.
Seton Hill	1701	More commercialized, cultural area, containing the Meyerhoff Symphony Hall; Maryland General Hospital; and a Baltimore historic district, separated from tract by Martin Luther King Blvd.
University of Maryland area	402	More commercialized area surrounding the University and including several older, still intact rowhouses; borders Lexington Market; separated from other census tracts by Franklin Street.

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Murphy Homes, comprised of four 14-story high-rise buildings and 20 walk-up units, was erected in 1963; 12 years later, 23 two-story townhouses known as Julian Gardens were constructed nearby. The Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC) managed Murphy Homes and Julian Gardens as one entity with approximately 454 households (about 1,225 people) in 781 rental apartments. By the early 1990s, this housing project was plagued with physical deterioration and a very high population density of 51 units per acre, as well as poverty,

unemployment, drug dealing, and violent crime, eventually becoming known among area residents as “Murder Homes.”

To combat these problems, Baltimore was awarded a \$31.3 million HOPE VI grant to demolish the Murphy Homes/Julian Gardens buildings and replace them with 260 low-rise, walk-up, single-family housing units in a new community called “Heritage Crossing,” in hopes that this would become an anchor in west Baltimore’s neighborhood renewal.

Progress was delayed almost a year by a class-action discrimination lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) on behalf of the displaced public housing residents in Baltimore. As a result, the original plans to rehabilitate an additional 102 satellite properties in conjunction with the HOPE VI Murphy Homes redevelopment were abandoned. The goal of these satellite properties was to more fully integrate the new development into the existing community.

The project finally commenced in July 1999 with the demolition of Murphy Homes, and construction of Heritage Crossing began in June 2001. The first residents began moving into the finished properties in August 2002. The official expected completion date was scheduled for December 2002, although construction workers have said they believe a more accurate projection is June 2003.

Upon completion, Heritage Crossing will be a mixed-income development with an emphasis on homeownership. As of November 2002, about 98 percent of its 185 homes had been sold, and approximately 34 percent were already occupied. To qualify for ownership, residents must be first time homebuyers with annual incomes between \$28,000 and \$76,000. Heritage Crossing has also instituted a stringent tenant selection process to fill the remaining 75 rental townhouses, which are public housing units rented out and managed by HABC. As of this writing, 28 percent of these units were completed, and about 24 percent were occupied.

External Factors

As shown in Figure 6.3, there are many other interventions in this and nearby neighborhoods, including an Empowerment Zone in Harlem Park, located on the west side of Murphy Homes. The federal government designated this zone in 1994 with a \$8 million grant. As part of the HOPE VI revitalization, the city purchased six units across the street from the redevelopment site, all of which are within this Empowerment Zone. These match Heritage Crossing architecturally, but buyers were offered the incentive of reduced closing costs to purchase homes within the zone. As a result, these units sold quickly. In addition, Maryland created a “HotSpot” community in nearby Harlem Park in 1997 to reduce crime, building on the success of the pre-existing federal Bureau of Justice’s Comprehensive Communities Program (CCP) that began there in 1995.

Finally, other nearby renewal efforts taking place in adjacent neighborhoods are worthy of note. The Harlem Park Revitalization Corporation (HPRC) is constructing the first new housing units in 25 years in that depressed neighborhood. This new development boasts an apartment building for seniors, a pharmacy, a doctor’s office, and the neighborhood’s first and

Figure 6.3
Other Interventions:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Initiative	Sponsor	Primary Goals	Focus Area
Settlement Expense Loan Program	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	Encourages home buying.	Heritage Crossing
Historic Renovation and Rehabilitation Tax Credit Program	Baltimore City Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation	Encourages restoration and rehabilitation	Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester
Live Near Your Work	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	Encourages employees to live near their work.	Heritage Crossing Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester Madison Park/Druid Heights
Empowerment Zone	Federal Government	Revitalization; employment and economic development.	Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester
HotSpot Crime Prevention Program	State of Maryland	Crime prevention.	Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester
The Main Streets, Settlement Expense Loan Program			Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester Madison Park/Druid Heights
Housing Venture Fund	Empower Baltimore	Redevelopment; offers funding to buyers of property within an Empowerment Zone.	Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester
Bank of America and the Harlem Park Revitalization Corporation's partnership in the Harlem Park Community Plan.	Bank of America and the Harlem Park Revitalization Corporation	Redevelopment; with homeownership opportunities for low- to moderate-income residents	Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester
Historic Preservation Tax Credits	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development		Madison Park/Druid Heights

Source: *Live Baltimore!* (2002).

only dine-in café. Also, Baltimore's Main Streets program will provide \$250,000 to renovate storefronts and aid businesses along Pennsylvania Avenue in Upton, an area north of the Heritage Crossing vicinity.

These national, state, and city initiatives are occurring alongside the revitalization in Murphy Homes make it is difficult for us to tease out the unique effects of HOPE VI on the primary and adjoining neighborhoods.

Neighborhood Analysis: Transition and Announcement Effects

As noted in Chapter 3, which detailed the methodology of this study, a two-part approach was required for this project's analysis. We were able to conduct a pre-post analysis comparing a wide array of neighborhood attributes before and after HOPE VI at two of the five sites where redevelopment is complete and now several years old. However, at the other three sites, the public housing high-rises were demolished and rebuilding is in varying stages of completion. In these sites, we could observe changes pertaining only to the transition period between demolition and rebuilding--not the longer-term neighborhood effects. Therefore, we examined changes in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, the physical environment, crime, schools and image for the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood and for surrounding neighborhoods. We review these changes to describe the transition period itself, and whether this profound shift in the HOPE VI neighborhood affected the adjacent neighborhoods.

Additionally, we hypothesized that the announcement of the HOPE VI intervention might, in itself, have some effects, most likely in the form of an increase in economic activity through either public or private sector investment, or a change in neighborhood-based organizations such as their number, level of activity, and effectiveness. Thus, we focus on transition and announcement effects in this chapter and in Chapters 7 and 8.

Preview of Findings

Our findings attest to the problems confronting the Heritage Crossing vicinity and adjoining neighborhoods of Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester and Madison Park/Druid Heights. Since the Murphy Homes housing project was believed to have had a negative impact on its surrounding communities, we might expect a positive impact resulting from the relocation of its residents in the transitional period. However, we found little evidence of either positive or negative transition effects in these adjacent neighborhoods. The transition phase also appears to have had little effect on the physical environment beyond the immediate development, as rates of vacancy and abandonment have fluctuated in surrounding areas. Although the Heritage Crossing development itself is clean and well-kept, surrounding neighborhoods show no significant changes in their physical environment because of the HOPE VI intervention. Similarly, no significant trends can be discerned in the transition period in crime or schools. Finally, findings on neighborhood image are also inconclusive. Although newspaper articles have clearly changed their tone and coverage of the vicinity and are more positive since the initiation of HOPE VI, resident and expert interviews convey a more cautious optimism.

The new Heritage Crossing development is largely viewed as a "bubble," both perceiving itself and being perceived as separate from its surrounding neighborhoods. This isolation may explain the inconclusive or neutral nature of any announcement effects. In 1997, the year of the HOPE VI announcement, the Heritage Crossing vicinity experienced an initial burst of economic activity in the form of an increase in building permits, home loans and median property values, but the effect subsided by 2000. However, with the completion of the Heritage Crossing development in 2003, homeownership rates will likely triple in the Heritage Crossing vicinity. As homeownership theory suggests that homeowners often organize and participate in community activities, increased homeownership might result in some positive spillover onto the immediate vicinity and even to adjacent neighborhoods.

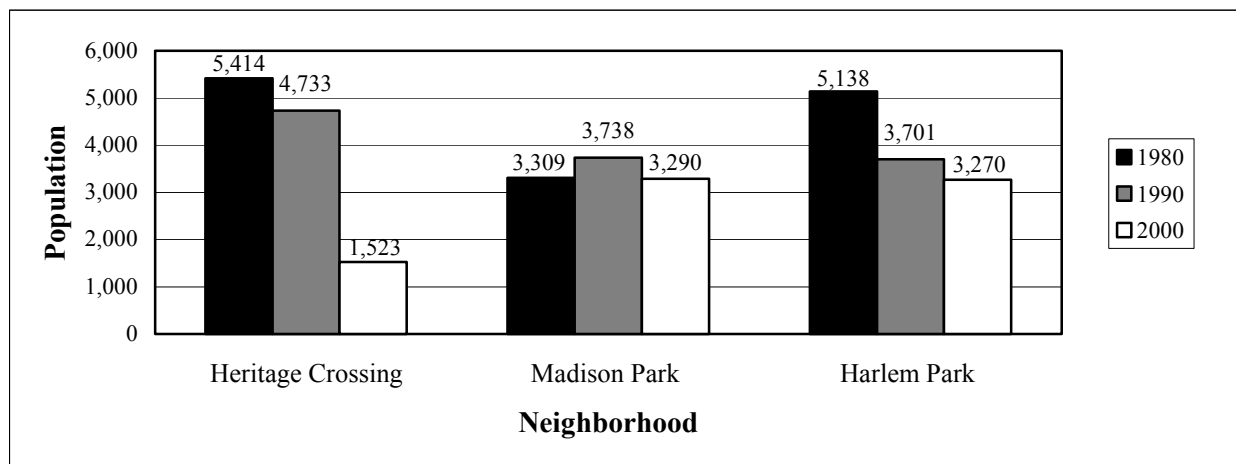
Transition Effects

In this section, we describe changes in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, physical environment, crime, school effects, and image for the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood and its surrounding neighborhoods.

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Although HOPE VI caused a sudden and significant drop in population in the former Murphy Homes neighborhood, this appears to be its primary transition effect. The demographics and socioeconomics of the population have remained fairly constant. As shown in Figure 6.4, the larger census tract of the HOPE VI neighborhood experienced a decline in population, from 5,414 residents in 1980, to 4,733 in 1990, to only 1,523 in 2000. We cannot explain this population decrease because the relocation of Murphy Homes residents and the overall drop in Baltimore's population do not account for the dramatic 68 percent decline between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses. However, it is possible that this may be a transition effect caused by the closure of Murphy Homes.

Figure 6.4
Population Trends:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

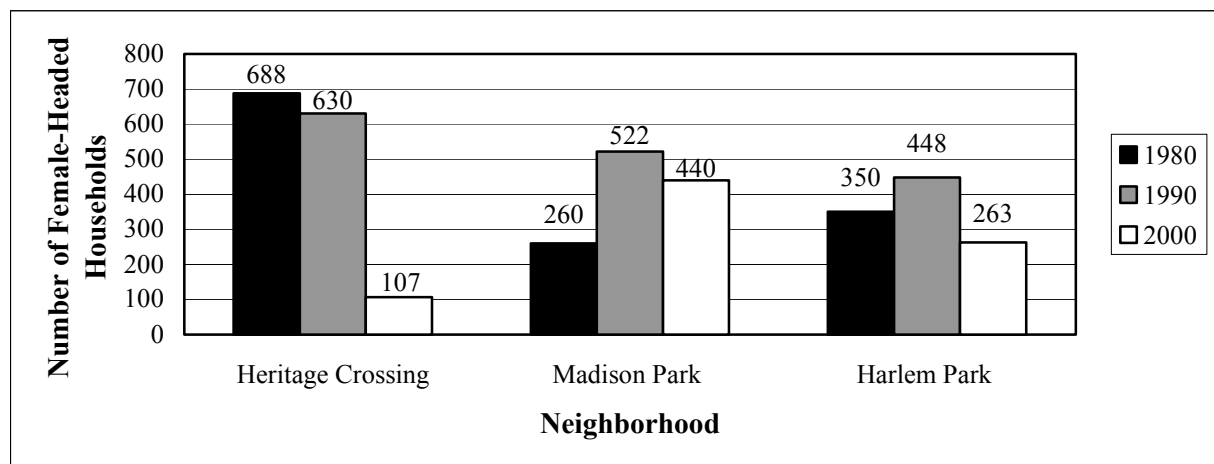


Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Similarly, adjoining census tracts encompassing the Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester and Madison Park/Druid Heights neighborhoods also experienced population decline from 1990 to 2000. However, the rate of the decrease followed the trend and magnitude of the city, which lost 12 percent of its population (see Appendix Table 6.1).¹

Figure 6.5 shows the decline in female-headed households with at least one child during the 1990s. The large drop in the Murphy Homes neighborhood corresponds to demolition of the housing project. The black population has remained predominant at 95 percent and higher throughout the surrounding neighborhoods, so HOPE VI has had no effect on the racial makeup of these areas. Similarly, few other demographic changes are evident (see Appendix Table 6.1).

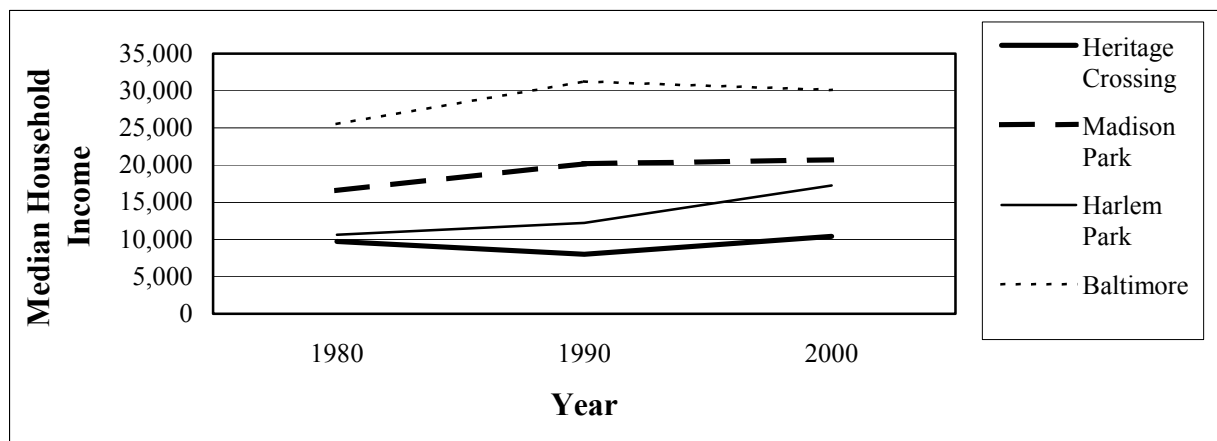
Figure 6.5
Female-headed Households With at Least One Child:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Source: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

As shown in Figure 6.6, Poverty rates have been consistently high since 1980 in the three primary neighborhoods when compared with Baltimore. Again, HOPE VI seems to have had no transitional effect on these rates. Median income rose slightly in the Heritage Crossing vicinity.

Figure 6.6
Median Household Income (2000\$):
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

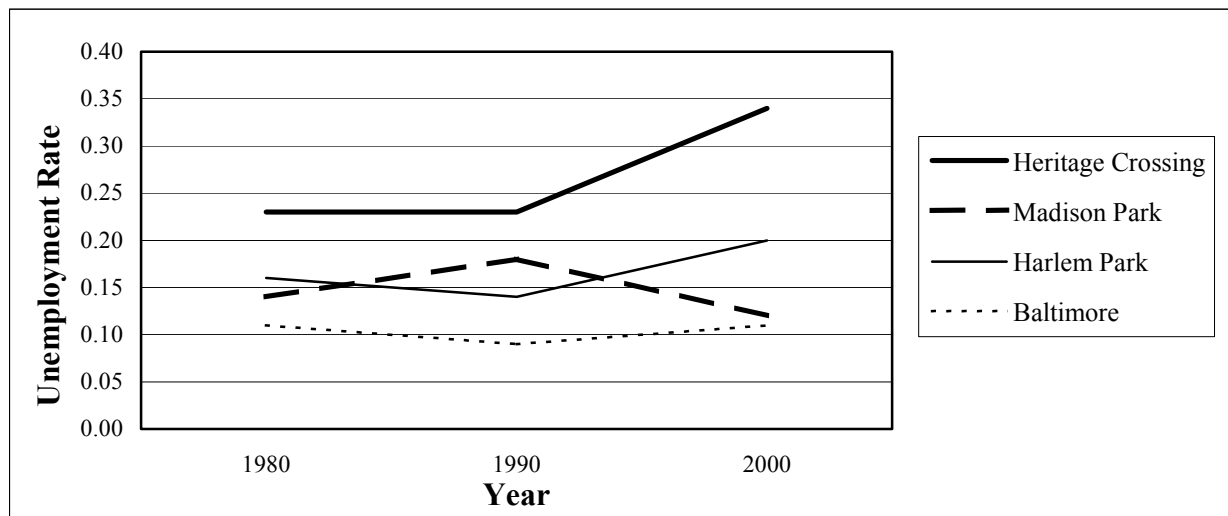


Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Figure 6.7 shows the unemployment rates of the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood and its surrounding neighborhoods. Joblessness has been on the rise in both Harlem Park and Heritage Crossing, paralleling the trend in Baltimore during the same period, but at a faster rate. By contrast, the unemployment rate has declined dramatically in Madison Park since 1990. We see no obvious link between the rates in the Heritage Crossing vicinity and the disparate rates in

the adjacent neighborhoods to the HOPE VI site. (Additional socioeconomic data are shown in Appendix Table 6.2.)

Figure 6.7
Unemployment Rate:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Physical Environment

No significant changes or trends in Heritage Crossing's physical environment appear to be linked to HOPE VI. The numbers of abandoned houses reveal no consistent trends, fluctuating in both the Heritage Crossing vicinity and in adjacent neighborhoods. Yet, the percentage of vacant houses almost doubled in all neighborhoods. On-site observations supported this trend, demonstrating that while the Heritage Crossing development remains in a relatively pristine state, its effects have not extended beyond its perimeter to the surrounding neighborhoods. A synopsis of the measures we examined is shown in Figure 6.8.

Figure 6.8
Synopsis of Physical Environment Measures:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Abandoned houses	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	1991-2002
Vacant housing units	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Trash; beautification efforts; graffiti; streets and sidewalks	On-site observations	October 2002
Interviews	11 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts; 7 business owners; 19 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as sanitation calls, parks and playgrounds, did not follow a consistent pattern.

As expected, our on-site observations found no abandoned or boarded-up houses within the Heritage Crossing housing development itself. Since 1991, however, the rate of abandonment has risen in surrounding neighborhoods (see Appendix Table 6.3). In the years after the announcement of HOPE VI and during the Murphy Homes/Heritage Crossing transition, no compelling physical environment trends are evident.

After eight years of maintaining or increasing the number of abandoned homes, the Heritage Crossing vicinity experienced a slight dip in the number of abandoned houses in 1999 and again in 2002, but increases in 2000 and 2001 disrupt the pattern and make it difficult to assess whether improvement will continue. During the same period, the number of abandoned houses in Baltimore rose steadily, suggesting that perhaps some unique factors were at work in the Heritage Crossing vicinity--for example, HOPE VI.

Similar to the area surrounding Heritage Crossing, Harlem Park also exhibits an inconsistent trend, reaching its peak level of abandonment in 1998 and then falling until 2001. But like the Heritage Crossing vicinity, this downward trend appears temporary, with the number increasing in 2002. In contrast to the variability of these two neighborhoods, Madison Park's rate of abandonment has risen steadily since 1999. Unlike Harlem Park and the HOPE VI neighborhood, where revitalization efforts are underway, we have no evidence of such projects in Madison Park.

Although measures of abandonment and vacancy differ, the vacancy figures from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses show increases in all three neighborhoods and in the city, as shown in Table 6.2. The percent of vacant units in the Heritage Crossing neighborhood doubled from 13

Table 6.2
Physical Environment:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park/Druid Heights	Harlem Park/Sandtown	Baltimore
Number of housing units, 2000	1,040	1,600	2,055	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	2,136	1,562	2,223	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	2,031	1,476	2,345	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000	280 (26.92)	432 (27.00)	666 (32.41)	42,281 (14.07)
Number of vacant housing units, 1990	283 (13.25)	242 (15.49)	376 (16.91)	27,222 (8.96)
Number of vacant housing units, 1980	186 (9.16)	293 (19.85)	314 (13.39)	21,045 (6.96)

Sources: *Geolytics* (2000); *Wessex* (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Note: Numbers in parenthesis represent percentage of total.

to 27 percent during the 1990s. But since the demolition of Murphy Homes, the total number of housing units declined by more than half, from 2,136 to 1,040. Baltimore also experienced a loss of housing units and an increase in its vacancy rate from nine percent to 14 percent. Unlike the Heritage Crossing vicinity, surrounding neighborhoods have maintained a fairly constant number of housing units, but, again, the vacancy rate rose dramatically: from 15 percent in 1990 to 27 percent in 2000 in Madison Park, and from 17 percent to 32 percent, respectively, in Harlem

Park. (See Appendix Table 6.3 for more complete information about the numbers of abandoned, vacant, and total housing units.)

These data mirror our findings from interviews with Heritage Crossing and surrounding neighborhood residents, as well as indigenous experts, such as police and mail carriers. Many interviewees emphasized that the Heritage Crossing development is isolated from the rest of the community. Our on-site observations, summarized in Table 6.3, were conducted on a distance gradient radiating out from the Heritage Crossing Development. We observed 100 percent of blocks within the Heritage Crossing Development, 44 percent of blocks in the Heritage Crossing vicinity, and 12 percent of blocks in its adjacent neighborhoods.

These on-site observations revealed that while Heritage Crossing itself remains relatively pristine, units on its periphery often overlook streets with as many as 25 boarded-up houses. Similarly, the Heritage Crossing development has significantly lower levels of trash and graffiti, greater evidence of beautification efforts, and better conditions of roads and sidewalks than do streets even one or two blocks away. Together, these visual cues reinforce the sentiment among residents and experts alike that the Heritage Crossing development is a “bubble.”

Table 6.3
Current Quality of Physical Environment:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 2002

Observations	Heritage Crossing Development	Heritage Crossing Neighborhood	Madison Park/Druid Heights	Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester
Trash	3.8	2.8	2.6	3.3
Beautification efforts	3.6	2.0	1.3	1.2
Graffiti	4.4	3.3	3.0	3.1
Streets and sidewalks	4.2	2.5	3.3	2.4

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Blocks observed: Heritage Crossing (100%); Heritage Crossing vicinity (44%); Adjacent neighborhoods (12%).

Note: rated on a scale where 1 = worst, 5 = best.

Our findings suggest that the transition period between the demolition of Murphy Homes and the construction of Heritage Crossing had little effect on the physical environment of nearby neighborhoods. Considering that HOPE VI is based upon the New Urbanism principle that new developments should be seamlessly integrated into their surrounding communities, the anecdotal and on-site evidence does not bode well for future neighborhood positive spillovers outward to the primary and adjacent neighborhoods. Although the Heritage Crossing homes fit the New Urbanism style architecturally, the development is an enclave of new buildings that look nothing like the ones nearby (for example, only the six homes across the street in the Empowerment Zone match those in Heritage Crossing). Particularly because plans were abandoned to rehabilitate 102 nearby satellite units, the new HOPE VI development stands apart architecturally and psychologically from its surrounding community. Of course, surrounded by a distressed neighborhood, the Heritage Crossing development would likely not benefit from the New Urbanism ideal of integration, and instead might prosper from maintaining--and even encouraging--separation. This highlights a tension in the New Urbanism principles, which are based on the assumption that integration into surrounding neighborhoods is a positive outcome.

Crime

In almost every category, the crime rates in the Heritage Crossing vicinity and Harlem Park mirror each other and, in many cases, differ from trends exhibited by Madison Park and Baltimore. Although no firm conclusions may be drawn from this, we speculate that police activity in these areas may have been heightened as a result of several years of crime prevention programs like CCP and HotSpots, and simply because neighborhoods consisting primarily of low-rise buildings and rowhouses are easier to police by car and on foot than are high-rises. A synopsis of the measures we examined is shown in Figure 6.9.

Figure 6.9
Synopsis of Crime Measures:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Dates
Number of violent crimes	Baltimore City Police Dept. Criminal Offenses Data	1990; 1998
Number of auto thefts	Baltimore City Police Dept. Criminal Offenses Data	1990; 1998; 2000-2001
Juvenile arrests	Baltimore City Police Dept. Criminal Offenses Data	1996-1999
Number of property burglaries	Baltimore City Police Dept. Criminal Offenses Data	1998-2001
Interviews	11 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts; 7 business owners; 19 residents	October-November 2002
Newspaper articles	<i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	1994-2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as robberies, assaults, and crime data from Murphy Homes did not follow a consistent pattern.

From 1990 to 1998, the rate of violent crime dropped in the former Murphy Homes neighborhood while the city's rate remained constant,² as shown in Table 6.4. The Harlem Park rate dropped by almost half, while Madison Park, like Baltimore, remained relatively constant. This similarity in trends for the Murphy Homes/Heritage Crossing vicinity and the Harlem Park neighborhood extends to juvenile arrest rates from 1996 to 1999, with both neighborhoods experiencing an increase, in contrast to a decrease for the city and the adjacent Madison Park neighborhood. The apparent correlation between the Heritage Crossing vicinity and Harlem Park may be explained by increased police activity in these two neighborhoods, as noted above, which may also explain why these two areas experienced a lower rate of violent crime coupled with a higher rate of juvenile arrests.

Since data are available through 1998 only for violent crime, and through 1999 (the year Murphy Homes was demolished) for juvenile arrests, these trends and increased police activity may be attributable to the crime prevention programs implemented in the Harlem Park area starting in 1995 more than to the demolition of Murphy Homes. In fact, these crime prevention programs have been operating in the community for over seven years and have likely had time to become well-established; thus, they may be responsible for positive spillover effects onto the Heritage Crossing development and vicinity, rather than vice versa. The fact that the rate of violent crime was cut almost in half in Harlem Park, and by a more modest third in the nearby Heritage Crossing vicinity, supports the theory that the origin of the change was Harlem Park.

Table 6.4
Crime:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park/ Druid Heights	Harlem Park/ Sandtown	Baltimore
Number of violent crimes, 1998	73 (1.8)	142 (4.4)	97 (2.1)	14,421 (2.2)
Number of violent crimes, 1990	151 (3.2)	135 (3.6)	149 (4.0)	16,174 (2.2)
Number of auto thefts, 2001	11 (0.7)	53 (1.6)	31 (.9)	7,622 (1.2)
Number of auto thefts, 1990	25 (0.5)	42 (1.1)	39 (1.1)	8,380 (1.1)
Number of juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1999	64 (4.2)	71 (2.2)	51 (1.6)	9,141 (1.4)
Number of juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1996	99 (2.3)	84 (2.5)	61 (1.3)	10,488 (1.6)
Number of burglaries 2001	32 (2.1)	100 (3.0)	60 (1.8)	10,041 (1.5)
Number of burglaries, 1998	71 (1.7)	100 (3.1)	76 (1.7)	15,939 (2.1)

Sources: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Note: 2000 population numbers used for the demoninators in the "rate per 100" calculations for 1999 and 2001. All other rates for intercensal years are based on population estimates.

However, more recent data on the number of auto thefts, admittedly a different type of crime, make trends more difficult to discern. The rate of auto theft has remained relatively constant between 1997 and 2001 in all three neighborhoods, just as it has in Baltimore. But, a slightly increased rate in Madison Park may lend some credence to our crime reduction theory, since it did not carry over to the Heritage Crossing vicinity or Harlem Park. Because of this inconsistency, it is treacherous to forecast any changes to overall crime trends. (See Appendix Table 6.4 for further information on crime.)

Nonetheless, nearly one in four articles appearing in *The Baltimore Sun* on Murphy Homes or Heritage Crossing since 1994 has been on crime and written in a negative tone, as shown in Table 6.5. Since the number of negatively toned crime articles plummeted after HOPE

Table 6.5
Newspaper Articles:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1994-2002

<i>The Baltimore Sun</i> article topics	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Economic activity and development	34	9	24
Demographics and socioeconomic characteristics	3	6	6
Physical environment	4	9	3
Crime and safety	2	37	3

VI was announced in 1997, the *perception* of crime in these areas is likely improving, whether or not actual rates are. It is also worth noting that in interviews, experts and residents consistently

identified the most pressing crime concern in these areas as drug use and drug-related crimes. Unfortunately, lack of data prevented us from addressing this important issue in our analysis.

School Effects

We found little persuasive evidence that the transition period from Murphy Homes to Heritage Crossing had a significant effect on schools the area. Nearby George Street Elementary closed in 1998 and was demolished along with Murphy Homes as part of the redevelopment plan. The relocation of Murphy Homes children and the subsequent drop in enrollment in the other neighborhood schools had no apparent effect on test scores. A synopsis of the measures we examined is shown in Figure 6.10.

School administrators indicated that many Murphy Homes children attended Samuel Coleridge Taylor Elementary School and Booker T. Washington Middle School. In 1990, Murphy Homes housed 775 residents under the age of 18. Assuming the number of children living in Murphy Homes remained relatively constant, its demolition may have caused a rapid migration of hundreds of children out of these schools, although a handful of families relocated nearby. Student body population numbers from 1999 (the year of Murphy Homes' implosion) to 2000 show significant decreases--from 534 students to 459 students, or a 14 percent decline, at Taylor, and 672 students to 612 students, or a nine percent decline, at Washington.

Figure 6.10
Synopsis of School Effects Measures:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
MSPAP scores	Maryland State Department of Education. Maryland School Performance Report	1993-2001
Interviews	11 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts; 7 business owners; 19 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as students receiving free and reduced meals, CTBS scores, attendance and dropout rates, did not follow a consistent pattern.

No noticeable trends are apparent in the Maryland School Performance Assessment Program (MSPAP) scores of fifth graders at Taylor and eighth graders at Washington. Fluctuations persisted throughout the time period examined, as shown in Table 6.5. This suggests that relocation of Murphy Homes children and the subsequent drop in student bodies had no observable effect on school test scores. (See Appendix Table 6.5 for more information about school effects, including dropout and attendance rates and the numbers of students receiving free and reduced price lunches.)

Table 6.6
School Effects:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Samuel Coleridge Taylor	Booker T. Washington	Baltimore
MSPAP composite score, percent of 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	11.20	NA	25.30
MSPAP composite score, percent of 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	15.70	NA	10.70
MSPAP composite score, percent of 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	10.70	25.30
MSPAP composite score, percent of 8 th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	3.30	10.70
Maryland State standard, percent of students scoring satisfactory	70.00	70.00	70.00

Source: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

NA = not applicable.

Image

The image of the Heritage Crossing vicinity may be improving. Both newspaper articles and people we interviewed displayed a cautious optimism about the new HOPE VI development. But they also acknowledge that sustained revitalization is difficult, particularly for the distressed neighborhoods around the Heritage Crossing development. A synopsis of the measures we examined is shown in Figure 6.11.

Figure 6.11
Synopsis of Image Measures:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Newspaper articles	<i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	1994-2002
Interviews	11 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts; 7 business owners; 19 residents	2002

Interviews revealed that reactions to the transition from Murphy Homes to Heritage Crossing were mixed. Two residents of Murphy Homes said that crime has decreased and the physical environment has improved. However, they also said there was little neighborhood interaction between residents of Heritage Crossing and the adjacent neighborhoods, supporting our theory that few ties have been established with the surrounding community. As shown earlier in Table 6.5, the biggest concern of many residents, also documented in *The Baltimore Sun* newspaper articles, continues to be safety. Of all articles written about crime in Murphy Homes, 73 percent were negatively toned and appeared prior to October 1997, the month the HOPE VI redevelopment of Murphy Homes was officially announced (not shown). However, since then, articles highlighting the positive aspects of economic development in the area have largely displaced those about crime. After October 1997, 74 percent of all articles about economic activity in the development were positively toned (not shown).

Interviews revealed that people in the nearby and adjoining areas were generally more pessimistic about the neighborhood's chances for success, saying that while they noticed an increased police presence, they have not noticed a decrease in crime. In addition, many of our arm's-length experts were skeptical about the chances for positive spillover effects resulting from the Heritage Crossing Development. One expert noted that the Heritage Crossing development is situated in what is generally considered the worst of the five HOPE VI neighborhoods, and it will likely be the last of the five to improve. Although the development itself looks healthy, the vicinity and the neighborhoods nearby are still struggling, and there is only limited economic activity to bolster Heritage Crossing's success.

Announcement Effects

We speculated that any announcement effects of HOPE VI would likely take the form an increase in economic activity, through either public or private sector investment, or by a change in neighborhood-based organizations such as their number, level of activity, and effectiveness.

Economic Activity

The announcement of the Murphy Homes HOPE VI redevelopment may have had a slight positive effect on the immediate vicinity. However, it appears to have had little impact on adjacent neighborhoods, and any impacts it may have had appear only temporary. In addition, only limited economic investment is evident in the vicinity and in surrounding neighborhoods. A synopsis of the measures we examined is shown in Figure 6.12.

Figure 6.12
Synopsis of Economic Activity Measures:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Homeownership rates	Census data	1980; 1990-2000
Building permits	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	2000-2002
Construction and renovation permits	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	1994; 2001
Home loans	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	2001-2002
Median sales price	Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services	2000-2002
Owner-assessed home value	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Interviews	11 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts; 7 business owners; 19 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as appraisal values, did not follow a consistent pattern.

The most compelling evidence of economic investment in the Heritage Crossing vicinity is the increase in the number of construction and renovation permits, from 30 in 1994 to 50 in 2001, as shown in Table 6.7. But this trend does not extend to Madison Park, where permits dropped from 63 to 31 during the same time period, or Harlem Park, where permits increased only slightly, from 72 to 78. All three neighborhoods experienced an increase in home purchase

loans in 1998, just a few months after the HOPE VI announcement. But this trend, too, was not sustained, and dropped back down to previous levels by 2001.

Table 6.7
Home Loans and Permits:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1994-2001

Measures	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park/ Druid Heights	Harlem Park/ Sandtown	Baltimore
Number of home purchase loans, 2001	4	3	4	3,208
Number of home purchase loans, 2000	2	4	8	3,540
Number of home purchase loans, 1999	2	1	2	4,031
Number of home purchase loans, 1998	11	8	13	3,747
Number of home purchase loans, 1997	2	1	2	3,797
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 2001	50	31	78	NA
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 1994	30	63	72	NA

Sources: Federal Financial Institutions Council (2002); Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2002c).

Note: one to four family homes.

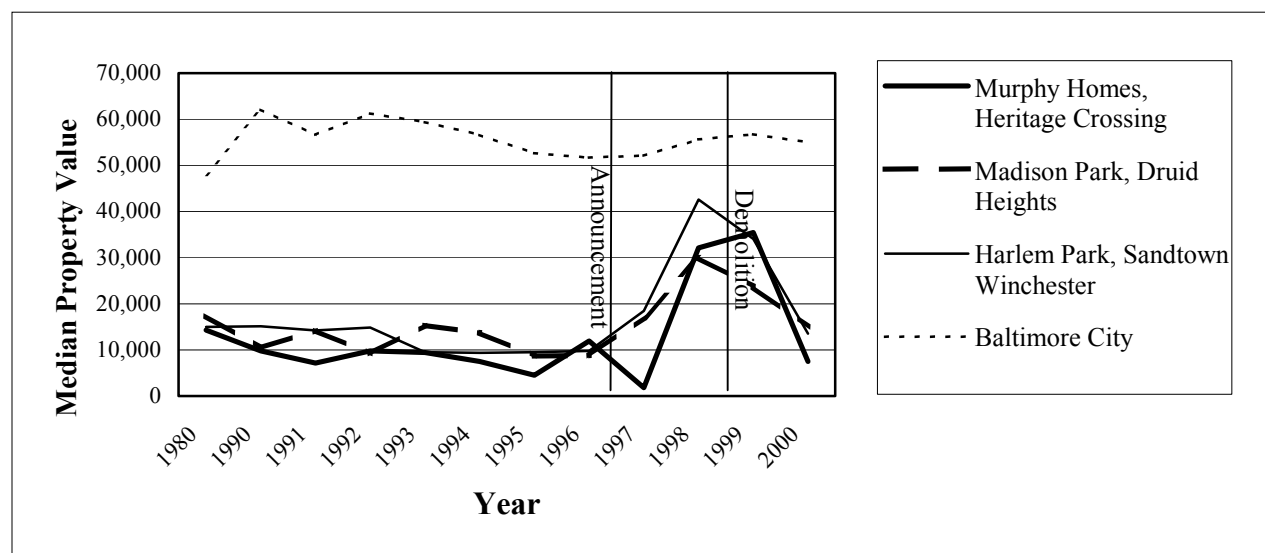
NA =not applicable.

This temporary positive effect is also apparent in the median value of residential sales, as shown in Figure 6.13. All three neighborhoods display dramatic increases, with the Heritage Crossing vicinity increasing from 1997 to 1999, and Madison Park and Harlem Park beginning to rise in 1996 and peaking in 1998. However, the median value of homes sold in all three neighborhoods declined to previous levels by 2000. (See Appendix Table 6.6 for additional measures of economic activity.)

We are puzzled by this rapid increase in activity followed by a decline, and can find no satisfactory explanation. Our arm's-length experts were also unable to account for this pattern, although some suggested that the activity might have been a temporary announcement effect that failed to sustain itself as buyers faced the bleak realities of the nearby neighborhoods. Possibly, the groups prompted to invest because of HOPE VI simply did so shortly after the announcement, and everyone else--particularly, more risk-averse people--are waiting to see how Heritage Crossing turns out. Another explanation is that this reflects the effects of other revitalization efforts going on in the surrounding neighborhoods, and particularly the redevelopment efforts of the Harlem Park Revitalization Corporation. It is also possible that the relatively small number of properties sold--reaching a peak of 25 in the Heritage Crossing vicinity in 1998--make it difficult to discern trends.

The temporary nature of the improvement might also be explained somewhat by census data, which present a dismal outlook for the economic vitality of these neighborhoods. Homeownership in the Heritage Crossing vicinity, considered by many to be a cornerstone of a

Figure 6.13
Median Value of Residential Sales (2000\$):
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Source: Baltimore City Bureau of Technology Services (2000).

Note: The vertical lines above indicate the year in which HOPE VI was announced (1997) and the year Murphy Homes was demolished (1999), respectively.

healthy community, increased by only one percent from 1990 to 2000, as shown in Table 6.8. While this slight increase contrasts with Baltimore's five percent decline, the increase in the Heritage Crossing vicinity may be misleading. The dramatic decline in population masks the fact that the total number of homeowners actually fell from 136 to 75.

Table 6.8
Economic Activity:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park/Druid Heights	Harlem Park/Sandtown	Baltimore
Number of homeowners, 2000	75	143	158	116,580
Number of homeowners, 1990	136	207	296	134,424
Homeownership rate, 2000	7	9	8	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	6	13	13	0.43
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 2000	33,800	44,000	40,600	69,100
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 1990	33,466	43,793	31,113	64,971

Sources: Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Although the sale of the 185 homes in Heritage Crossing development will at least triple the number of homeowners in the Heritage Crossing vicinity, it is too early to tell what impact such a large increase will have on the immediate or surrounding neighborhoods. As noted in

Chapter 2, homeownership theory hypothesizes that increased homeownership may lead to increased investment in the neighborhood and lower crime rates.

Unfortunately, however, revitalizing the community may be a slow and difficult process. In querying 10 arm's-length experts, we found no sign of any current economic investment or activity in the area *resulting from* HOPE VI, and what little investment we did find was either in process before the announcement of HOPE VI or the HOPE VI influence was considered only a minor factor.

Although all HOPE VI redevelopments were expected to follow the principles of New Urbanism, which calls for new developments to be located near pedestrian-friendly, active commercial centers, few local amenities and commercial establishments within walking distance operate to support the needs of Heritage Crossing residents, and anecdotal evidence suggests that this is unlikely to change. Furthermore, the nearby Empowerment Zone, which includes the Harlem Park neighborhood, has been funded at the lowest level of any in Baltimore. Empowerment Zone representatives suggest the low level of funding stems, in part, from difficulties associated with attracting institutional and commercial partners to the area.

As mentioned previously, the economic activity that does exist includes the Main Streets Storefront Redevelopment Program, a city initiative being implemented in Upton, and the Bank of America-Harlem Park Revitalization Corporation (HPRC) partnership in nearby Harlem Park. A representative from the Main Streets Program indicated the HOPE VI development had no effect on their activities. While a representative from HPRC said that the HOPE VI development at Heritage Crossing may have been “a contributing factor,” it was most decidedly not an impetus for their work. Thus, unlike some of the other HOPE VI redevelopment projects, Heritage Crossing will likely require increased economic activity in its vicinity to bolster any positive impacts of redevelopment. While the goal was to revitalize the former Murphy Homes area using New Urbanism principles, strong isolation and a weak commercial base persist, likely explaining the lackluster nature of announcement effects for this HOPE VI site.

Social Environment

The announcement of HOPE VI funding appears to have had little impact on the social environment and community activity in the area. A synopsis of the measures we examined is shown in Figure 6.14.

Figure 6.14
Synopsis of Social Environment Measures:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Community organizations	Baltimore City Data Collaborative	November 2002
Neighborhood activity	On-site observations	October 2002
Interviews	11 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts 7 business owners; 19 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as public transportation routes and residential tenure, did not follow a consistent pattern.

A total of 14 community organizations are registered within the three neighborhoods. (A list of these organizations, their budgets, and leaders appear in Appendix Table 6.7.) Of the nine organizations we were able to contact, all stated that the announcement of HOPE VI funding had no immediate impact on their activity. However, they also indicated their hope that the new development would prompt more community activity, and they remain optimistic that HOPE VI will affect their organizations in the future, possibly by allowing them to become service providers to Heritage Crossing residents.

Of the 35 residents and experts we interviewed, 11 stated that they believe activity of community-based organizations in the area is low, and all others were unaware of any activity or had no opinion. Interviews suggested that despite suggestions to the contrary in the HOPE VI application, most residents and community organizations did little to either encourage or abet Heritage Crossing's development. Furthermore, there appears to be little social capital or community investment in these distressed neighborhoods.

Finally, the level of neighborhood activity we observed in the area revealed little about either the transition or announcement effects of HOPE VI. The activity level was generally low to moderate, as shown in Table 6.12. It seems likely, however, that the low level in the Heritage Crossing development has more to do with it not being fully occupied as yet, to the fact that observations were conducted during the workday. In addition, higher activity levels in some of the other neighborhoods may not have the same connotation as in more prosperous areas; interviews suggest that groups of men hanging out on the corner at midday indicates unemployment or drug activity. So "neighborhood activity" is not necessarily a positive indicator for these areas.

Table 6.12
Current Neighborhood Activity:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Observations	Heritage Crossing Development	Heritage Crossing Vicinity	Madison Park/Druid Heights	Harlem Park/Sandtown-Winchester
Neighborhood activity	2	2.5	2.5	2.3

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Blocks observed: 100 percent in Heritage Crossing Development, 44 percent in Heritage Crossing vicinity, and 12 percent in adjacent neighborhoods.

Note: Rated on a scale where 1 = low; 5 = high.

Key Findings

The outlook for the Heritage Crossing development and vicinity appears to have much to do with the size of the footprint of this HOPE VI site, the fidelity to the original plans, and the development's location in relation to its adjacent neighborhoods. As already mentioned, the original plans for Heritage Crossing, including the rehabilitation of 102 satellite units in the adjacent neighborhoods, were abandoned. A community and job training center included in the original HOPE VI application to support Heritage Crossing residents has not yet been constructed and is still in the design stages. According to the development company, it is not expected for completion until November 2003 at the earliest. In addition, there is no viable

commercial center within easy walking distance for Heritage Crossing residents. These factors, coupled with the general distress of neighboring communities and the physical barriers that, to some degree, confine residents to the immediate vicinity, stack the odds against long-term success.

There were surprisingly few effects from the dramatic transition between the demolition of Murphy Homes and the construction of the Heritage Crossing development. The most noticeable effect was a large population decrease, which cannot be attributed to the relocation of Murphy Homes residents and exceeds the rate of population loss in the city. Otherwise, however, the general demographics and socioeconomic characteristics of the neighborhood remained relatively unchanged, and there were no significant trends of positive spillover effects onto surrounding neighborhoods in the physical environment, crime, or school indicators. In general, the similarities between the residents of the former Murphy Homes and the residents of surrounding neighborhoods appear to have lessened the degree to which any significant changes occurred. Although the density of residents was dispersed, the socioeconomic problems that affect the area remain.

The only discernable and somewhat positive transition effect was a slightly improved public perception of the Heritage Crossing neighborhood. Both newspaper articles and interviews revealed a cautious optimism that the area was improving. However, this was often followed by the comment that Heritage Crossing functions as its own entity, physically and psychologically separated from the surrounding neighborhoods. Since the development is only partially inhabited and currently still incomplete, it is too soon to forecast the likelihood of Heritage Crossing's success. But if this separation persists, it will make it difficult for any positive neighborhood effects to spill over beyond Heritage Crossing's perimeter. Conversely, perhaps the fact that the development is a "bubble" may prove to be an asset in the long run by functioning to keep the problems of the surrounding area out. It remains to be seen which direction, outward or inward, any potential spillover will take.

Any announcement effect caused by the HOPE VI funding appears to have been short-lived and limited mainly to the immediate vicinity. In 1998, soon after the announcement, there was a sharp increase in home loans, building permits, and median sales prices, but these trends were not sustained and dropped back down to previous levels by 2000. Although the experts we interviewed were unable to satisfactorily explain this trend, a few suggested that it could be an announcement effect that fizzled out when confronted with the difficulty of revitalization in this area. Or it simply may be that more risk-averse developers are waiting to gauge the success of the Heritage Crossing development before investing. We were also unable to find any evidence of new economic investment planned for the area anytime soon, or of community organizing. Of existing community organizations, none felt that HOPE VI had any influence on their activity or plans, and there appeared to be little coordination among them or between them and city officials.

Despite these findings, there may still be reason to be optimistic. The 2000 Census shows 75 homeowners in Heritage Crossing. If, as anticipated, all 185 ownership units in the new development are occupied, this will at least triple the homeownership rate in the Heritage Crossing vicinity. What effect this increased rate of homeownership will have on the immediate and surrounding neighborhoods is uncertain. The number of current homeowners in the vicinity

is still so small that a tripling in absolute numbers will represent only a modest percentage increase relative to the population. Property sales will need to rise above and beyond the sales of Heritage Crossing townhouses to produce a significant change. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, homeownership theory suggests that if these homeowners set a tone for their neighbors, the benefits of the HOPE VI revitalization at Heritage Crossing could extend to the immediate vicinity and beyond to adjacent neighborhoods.

Endnotes

¹Adjoining neighborhood Seton Hill, census tract 1701, experienced a 27 percent *increase* in population during the same time period. However, as already discussed, we do not examine the effect of the HOPE VI redevelopment on this neighborhood because of its physical and psychological separation from Murphy Homes. It also rarely reflects the trends of the immediate HOPE VI and other surrounding neighborhoods--this being a good example.

²The total number of violent crimes in the city declined from 1990-1998, but Baltimore's population decreased throughout this period, as already noted; thus the city's violent crime *rate* remained constant.

Appendix Table 6.1
Demographic Characteristics:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park	Harlem Park	Upton	Seton Hill	UMD	Baltimore
Total population, 2000	1,523	3,290	3,270	2,804	1,690	1,338	651,154
Total population, 1990	4,733	3,738	3,701	2,993	1,326	1,497	736,014
Total population, 1980	5,414	3,309	5,138	3,363	1,815	3,181	786,775
Percent change in population, 1990 - 2000	67.82	11.99	11.65	-6.31	27.45	-10.62	-11.53
Percent change in population, 1980 - 1990	-12.58	12.96	-27.97	-11	-26.94	-52.94	-6.45
Percent change in population, 1980 - 2000	-72	-1	-36	-17	-7	-58	-17.24
Percent black population, 2000	99	95	98	96	80	47	64.34
Percent black population, 1990	99	97	99	97	73	52	59.21
Percent black population, 1980	99	96	99	96	67	82	54.80
Number of households, 2000	756	1,196	1,338	1,375	798	482	257,788
Number of households, 1990	1,823	1,336	1,832	1,267	712	396	276,484
Number of households, 1980	1,859	1,206	2,037	1,348	577	753	281,414
Number female-headed households with at least one child, 2000	107	440	263	272	178	29	34,329
Number female-headed households with at least one child, 1990	630	522	448	351	117	88	46,163
Number female headed households with at least one child, 1980	688	260	350	257	139	410	37,186
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 2000	340	1,253	857	851	423	61	160,105
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1990	1,636	1,364	1,471	884	281	234	179,869
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1980	2,050	975	1,242	923	359	1,215	211,943

Sources: *Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).*

Appendix Table 6.2
Socioeconomic Characteristics:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park	Harlem Park	Upton	Seton Hill	UMD	Baltimore
Unemployment rate, 2000	0.34	0.12	0.20	0.30	0.19	0.09	0.11
Unemployment rate, 1990	0.23	0.18	0.14	0.17	0.02	0.12	0.09
Unemployment rate, 1980	0.23	0.14	0.16	0.22	0.05	0.18	0.11
Median household income, 2000	10,408	20,714	17,245	9,010	19,922	12,857	30,078
Median household income, 1990	8,006	20,192	12,223	7,611	27,816	21,590	30,747
Median household income, 1980	9,740	16,555	10,628	8,787	19,758	4,648	25,437
Per capita income, 2000	11,700	12,740	14,883	10,235	13,384	7,573	16,978
Per capita income, 1990	5,864	9,832	9,504	6,980	18,525	9,037	15,965
Per capita income, 1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Appendix Table 6.3
Physical Environment:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park	Harlem Park	Upton	Seton Hill	UMD	Baltimore
Number of housing units, 2000	1,040	1,600	2,055	1,525	882	519	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	2,136	1,562	2,223	1,426	720	505	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	2,031	1,476	2,345	1,406	647	884	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000	280	432	666	170	67	72	42,281
Number of vacant housing units, 1990	283	242	376	103	85	129	27,222
Number of vacant housing units, 1980	186	293	314	63	80	90	21,045
Percent vacant housing units, 2000	26.92	27.00	32.41	11.15	7.60	13.87	14.07
Percent vacant housing units, 1990	13.25	15.49	16.91	7.22	11.81	25.54	8.96
Percent vacant housing units, 1980	9.16	19.85	13.39	4.48	12.36	10.18	6.96
Number of abandoned houses, 2002	172	158	281	28	12	4	13,830
Number of abandoned houses, 2001	187	154	272	31	21	6	13,619
Number of abandoned houses, 2000	167	145	280	25	20	2	12,298
Number of abandoned houses, 1999	164	136	289	31	18	2	11,844
Number of abandoned houses, 1998	173	139	307	26	19	1	11,310
Number of abandoned houses, 1997	169	134	291	19	16	5	10,609
Number of abandoned houses, 1996	150	107	273	17	15	5	9,269
Number of abandoned houses, 1995	151	108	235	16	14	7	8,222
Number of abandoned houses, 1994	149	121	203	22	17	7	7,190
Number of abandoned houses, 1993	135	127	204	26	14	6	6,871
Number of abandoned houses, 1992	112	121	192	20	20	11	6,334
Number of abandoned houses, 1991	104	117	184	19	23	12	5,923

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000). Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2002a; 2002b).

Appendix Table 6.4
Crime Data:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Heritage Crossing		Madison Park		Harlem Park & Winchester		Upton		Seton Hill		UMD		Baltimore	
	Actual	Rate	Actual	Rate	Actual	Rate	Actual	Rate	Actual	Rate	Actual	Rate	Actual	Rate
Number of violent crimes, 1998	73	1.8	142	4.4	97	2.1	96	3.7	50	3.7	60	4.1	14,421	2.2
Number of violent crimes, 1990	151	3.2	135	3.6	149	4	99	3.3	81	6.1	124	8.3	16,174	2.2
Number of auto thefts, 2001	11	0.7	53	1.6	31	0.9	36	1.9	27	-	25	2	7,622	1.2
Number of auto thefts, 2000	14	0.9	46	1.4	21	0.6	28	2	41	2.4	27	1.4	7,986	1.2
Number of auto thefts, 1999	8	0.5	30	0.9	18	0.6	23	-	23	-	20	0.9	7,091	1.1
Number of auto thefts, 1998	12	0.3	27	0.8	23	0.7	31	1.5	26	1.9	21	0.8	7,628	1.2
Number of auto thefts, 1990	25	0.5	42	1.1	39	1.1	68	1.9	46	3.5	28	1.1	8,380	1.1
Number of juvenile arrests, 1999	64	4.2	71	2.2	51	1.6	86	3.1	25	0	2	0	9,141	1.4
Number of juvenile arrests, 1998	114	2.8	93	2.8	51	1.1	72	2.7	25	1.9	4	0.3	9,862	1.5
Number of juvenile arrests, 1997	94	2.2	99	3	65	1.4	52	2	17	1.3	16	1.1	10,596	1.6
Number of juvenile arrests, 1996	99	2.3	84	2.5	61	1.3	43	1.6	18	1.3	5	0.3	10,488	1.6
Number of property burglaries, 2001	32	2.1	100	3	60	1.8	18	0.6	27	0	111	8.3	10,041	1.5
Number of property burglaries, 2000	24	1.6	102	3.1	71	2.2	25	0.9	42	2.5	110	8.2	10,965	1.7
Number of property burglaries, 1999	50	3.3	74	2.2	52	0	19	0.7	48	0	92	0	11,846	1.8
Number of property burglaries, 1998	71	1.7	100	3.1	76	1.7	16	0.6	45	3.4	102	7.1	13,939	2.1

Source: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Appendix Table 6.5
School Effects:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Upton School	Eutaw Marsh-burn	William Pinder-hughes	Samuel Coleridge Taylor	Furman L. Templeton	Booker T. Washington	Joseph C. Briscoe High	Baltimore
Students receiving free and reduced meals								
Percent elementary students, 2001	NA	76.70	83.90	65.00	NA	NA	NA	76.20
Percent elementary students, 1993	NA	93.20	90.40	95.50	95.10	NA	NA	67.70
Percent middle school students, 2001	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	90.20	NA	76.30
Percent middle school students, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	87.30	NA	67.70
Percent high school students, 2001	70.80	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	72.10	47.50
Percent high school students, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	69.50	67.70
MSPAP composite scores								
Percent 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	11.20	28.80	13.20	NA	NA	NA	25.30
Percent 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	15.70	15.80	2.90	NA	NA	NA	10.70
Percent 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	10.70	NA	19.00
Percent 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	3.30	NA	8.70
Attendance rates								
Elementary school, 2002	97.80	97.30	93.80	91.80	NA	NA	NA	94.00
Elementary school, 1993	85.40	91.70	91.60	92.50	NA	NA	NA	93.00
Middle school, 2002	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	87.70
Middle school, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	83.70
High school, 2002	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	57.40	79.50
High school, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	72.40	79.30

Appendix Table 6.5 (continued)

Event dropout rate per year¹								
High school, 2002	6.29	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	14.91	10.32
High school, 1993	5.74	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	16.17	18.53

Source: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

Note: 1. Event dropout rates reflect the percentage of students who drop out in a single year without completing high school.

Appendix Table 6.6
Economic Activity:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Madison Park	Harlem Park	Upton	Seton Hill	UMD	Baltimore
Number of homeowners, 2000	75	143	158	46	67	0	116,580
Number of homeowners, 1990	136	207	296	74	86	7	134,424
Number of homeowners, 1980	147	204	338	60	107	12	132,735
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.07	0.09	0.08	0.03	0.07	0	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.06	0.13	0.13	0.05	0.12	0.01	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1980	0.07	0.13	0.14	0.04	0.17	0.01	0.44
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 2000	33,800	44,000	40,600	56,300	80,500	0	62,600
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 1990	33,466	43,794	31,113	61,311	96,084	163,409	65,107
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 1980	23,477	32,868	22,048	35,727	72,678	43,484	46,410
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 2001	50	31	78	22	13	12	0
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, August 1999 - July 2000	5	10	10	6	10	3	0
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 1994	30	63	72	32	31	16	0

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000). Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002c).

Appendix Table 6.7
Social Environment:
Heritage Crossing and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Organization	Budget 2001	Staff/ Members	Leader	Affected by HOPE VI
Druid Heights Community Development Corporation, Inc.	Yes	10	Jacquelyn D. Cornish	No
Harlem Park Neighborhood Council Inc.			Robert L. Ford	No
Harlem Park Trust, Inc.	NA	8	Carmena F. Watson	No
Harlem Park Revitalization Corporation	NA		Jelil Ogundele	No
Harlem Square Community Association			Dr. Kwame Abayomi	
Harlem Park/Lafayette Square Village Center	NA	9	Howard Hill; 4 years	No
Lafayette Square Association	NA	30	Arlene Fisher	No
Marble Hill Community Association ¹			Winfield Ligon	
Marlborough Senior Citizen Group ¹			Lulu Baynard	
Metropolitan/Harlem Park Community Development ¹			Ernest Gambrill, Jr.	
NM Carroll Manor Tenants Council ¹			Lorraine White	
Pennsylvania Avenue Merchants Association	Yes	30	Rick Sussman	No
Saint James Terrace Apartment Residents Council	Yes	30	Sarah Lee	No
4th District Human Services ¹		14	Marvin Briscoe	No

Note: 1. Unable to interview after repeated attempts.

NA=not available.

CHAPTER 7

BROADWAY HOMES/BROADWAY OVERLOOK

Executive Summary

Broadway Homes was a severely distressed public housing development in East Baltimore. In 1999, HABC received a \$21 million HOPE VI revitalization grant to demolish and rebuild the property as a mixed-income development. Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions (JHMI) expressed interest in the Broadway Homes site to expand the JHMI campus, and negotiated a land swap with HABC and Broadway residents. The location for the new Broadway Overlook housing development is in the heart of the “on the rise” Washington Hill neighborhood. Its location in an up-and-coming neighborhood may encourage residents of the Broadway development to “keep up with the Joneses” by maintaining the same positive trends as their neighbors. It is unique for a HOPE VI project to be built in a neighborhood showing high rates of homeownership, signs of improvement, and low levels of distress.

The neighborhood of the original Broadway Homes site is in transition, awaiting the construction by JHMI of a parking garage, energy plant, and loading dock. At present, no positive spillover from the HOPE VI project can be reported. But the growth and vitality of the Washington Hill neighborhood may be spilling over onto the new Broadway Overlook development--a spillover effect in the reverse direction of what we initially expected. The announcement effect of HOPE VI at the new Broadway Overlook site is visible in the increased interaction between two resident organizations, the Broadway Homes Residents Council and the Citizens for Washington Hill. Since the land swap, both groups have worked together and successfully negotiated a number of improvements for the neighborhood.

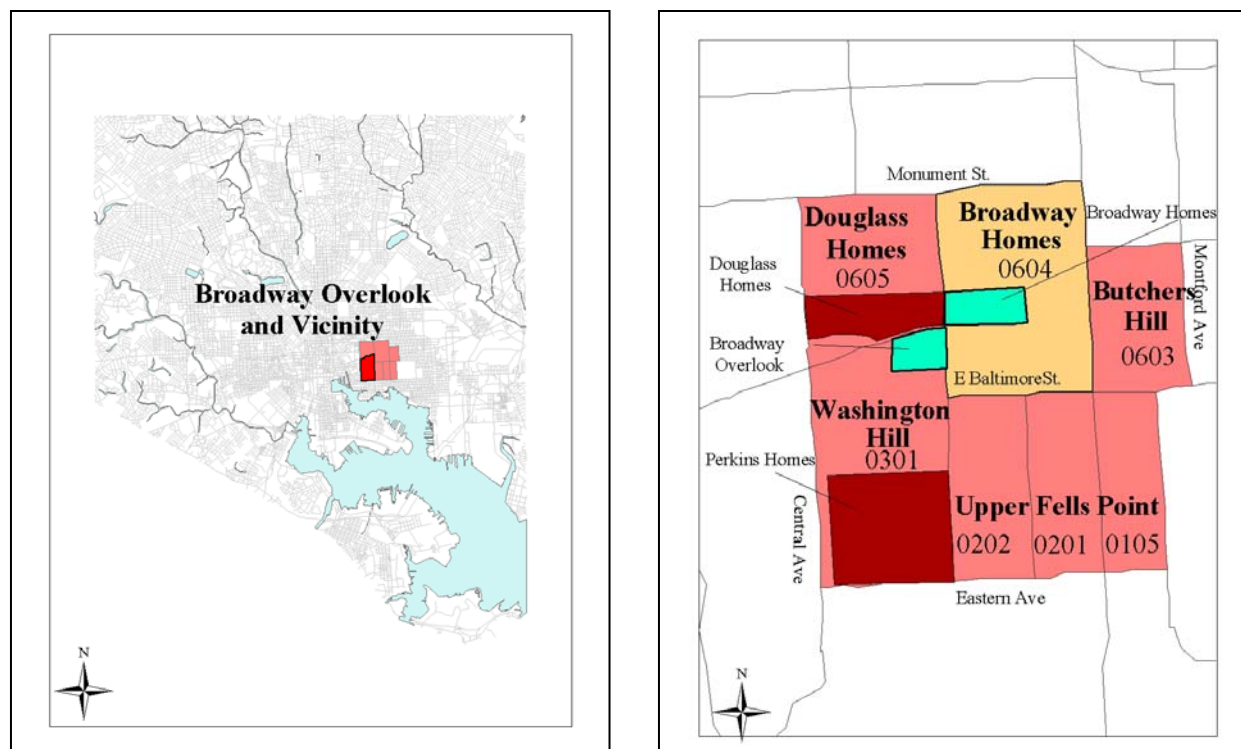
Economic indicators of the announcement of HOPE VI are difficult to isolate. JHMI, a \$3 million investor in this HOPE VI project, is a major presence in this neighborhood. The growth of JHMI makes it difficult to isolate investment resulting from the announcement of the HOPE VI project versus JHMI's influence. It is clearer, however, that the redevelopment has not deterred investment. A total of \$22 million for the Broadway Overlook HOPE VI project will come from non-public investment. Most of this investment will support social services in Broadway Overlook.

Introduction

The Broadway Homes HOPE VI Project

Broadway Homes was an East Baltimore public housing development that included one 22-story high-rise and 14 low-rise buildings. The 429-unit complex was bordered by Orleans Street on the north, East Fayette Street on the south, Broadway Street on the west, and Wolfe Street on the east. This location is across Orleans Street from JHMI and north of the Inner Harbor, and near the up-and-coming Baltimore neighborhoods of Butchers' Hill and Washington Hill. Figure 7.1 shows the original location of the original Broadway Homes development and adjacent neighborhoods.

Figure 7.1
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods



Note: Census tract number noted under neighborhood name.

Broadway Homes was built in 1972. By the 1990s, the Broadway Tower was called “The Whorehouse” for its notorious level of prostitution traffic. Both the physical and social environment of Broadway Homes were severely distressed. The concentration of very low-income households in a high-density area, 61 units per acre, exacerbated the negative characteristics and image of Broadway Homes.

In the mid-1990s, HABC ceased renting units in the Broadway Tower due to its irrevocable physical distress. In 1996, its 300 residents were relocated. In 1998, HABC received a \$2,281,500 HOPE VI demolition grant for the Broadway Tower. That same year, HABC submitted a revised plan for demolition and revitalization of the entire Broadway Homes project. HABC was awarded a \$21,363,233 HOPE VI revitalization grant in fiscal year 1999. At that time, 99 low-rise units were fully occupied. Relocation of these 375 residents was completed in June 2000 and, in August, all 429 units of Broadway Homes were demolished.

The original HOPE VI plan was to create a mixed-use space on the original Broadway Homes site. Five acres of land were reserved for residential development and two acres were to be developed by JHMI with space for a parking garage, medical center building, commercial space, hotel, public library, and community center. After the plan’s approval, it became clear the design was overly ambitious for the site. Fortuitously, JHMI had recently purchased the site of the defunct Church Home & Hospital and its adjacent lots, a total of seven acres. JHMI proposed a land swap to HABC and, after intense negotiations, the land swap was finalized in September 2000. JHMI is now free to develop on the original Broadway Homes site, and the new HOPE VI project is being developed on the Church Home & Hospital land.

The new site is 40 yards from the former Broadway Homes site. As shown in Figure 7.1, it is bordered by East Fayette Street on the north, Fairmount Avenue on the south, Bond Street on the west and

Broadway on the east. The future development has been aptly named Broadway Overlook for its sweeping view of downtown Baltimore. It will be a mixed-income residential development of rowhouses, built following New Urbanism design principles. Figure 7.2 compares the key features of the old and new developments.

Figure 7.2
Comparison of Key Features:
Broadway Homes and Broadway Overlook

	Broadway Homes	Broadway Overlook
Year opened	1972	Construction Began: 2002 Expected Completion: 2003
Building type	1 high-rise 14 low-rises	Rowhouses Community Center
Units	429 public housing units 330 units in high-rise 99 units in low-rise	166 units 84 public housing rental 42 units: families at or below 30 percent area median income 42 units: families at 31-60 percent area median income 48 market rental 34 homeowner

Table 7.1 shows the sources of funding for the project, which total \$59,778,700. The 166 units will include 132 rentals and 34 homeowner units. The rental units will include the 84 public

Table 7.1
Source of Funds for Broadway Overlook

HOPE VI Revitalization Grant	21,362,233
Bonds	13,145,000
City of Baltimore HOME	2,100,000
CGP	3,589,056
Tax Credit Equity	3,828,091
Partnership Rental	7,140,000
Private Equity	5,832,820
Federal Homes Loan	500,000
HOPE VI Demolition Grant	2,281,500
TOTAL	\$59,778,700

housing units, with 42 units for families with incomes at or below 30 percent of area median income and 42 units for families between 31-60 percent of the area median. The remainder will be sold at market rates. Of the 90 families relocated from Broadway Homes, 70 are scheduled to move into the new development. In addition, there will be an 8,500 square foot community center for community programs and support services. Ground was broken in July 2002, and the project is scheduled for completion in December 2003. JHMI plans to build a parking garage, an energy plant, and a new loading dock on the former

Broadway Homes site. Design proposals have been tendered and construction is expected to begin in June 2003. Neither the library nor the originally proposed hotel is part of the new redevelopment plan.

Analysis of Transition and Announcement Effects

As in Chapter 6, this chapter has two main components. First, we discuss the effect of the transition of Broadway Homes to Broadway Overlook on the immediate neighborhood and the adjacent neighborhoods. We then examine the announcement effect of the HOPE VI grant and subsequent land swap on Washington Hill, where the new Broadway Overlook development will stand, and adjacent neighborhoods. It is too early to evaluate the effects of the HOPE VI project. However, it is possible that the 1999 announcement of this multi-million dollar HOPE VI project has already contributed to changes the Washington Hill. There are also positive signs of growth in the new neighborhood that may ease the assimilation of Broadway Overlook residents into the neighborhood. As in the previous chapter, our analysis of possible announcement effects is limited to changes in economic activity in the form of public or private investment, and changes in the activities of neighborhood-based organizations.

Background of Neighborhoods

Broadway Homes

As shown in Figure 7.3, Broadway Homes was located in census tract 604 near Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Douglass Homes public housing development. The population of Broadway Homes accounted for approximately 25 percent of the total population of the neighborhood. During the 1990s, there were roughly 700 residents in Broadway Homes.

Figure 7.3
Neighborhood Characteristics:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Neighborhood	Census Tracts	Key Attributes
Broadway Homes	604	Former site of Broadway Homes and some JHMI facilities.
Washington Hill	301	Future site of Broadway Overlook; Well-kept rowhouses; high homeownership in northern portion of tract; Perkins Homes HABC public housing in southern portion of tract.
Douglass Homes & JHMI	605	Douglass Homes HABC public housing development; JHMI.
Butchers Hill	603, 105	A diverse neighborhood near Patterson Park; close to Inner Harbor.
Upper Fells Point	201, 202	Neighborhood with a wide range of traditional rowhouses; near Inner Harbor.

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Washington Hill

Also shown in Figure 7.1, Washington Hill, located in census tract 301, will be the home of the new Broadway Overlook. The boundaries of the Washington Hill neighborhood are Fayette Street to the north, Lombard Street in the south, Central Avenue to the west, and Washington Street to the east. Fayette Street served as a buffer between Washington Hill and the two public housing developments in the area: Broadway Homes and Douglass Homes. The 40-yard relocation of Broadway Homes places it in Washington Hill.

However, there is a discrepancy between the census tract of Washington Hill and the actual neighborhood boundaries, which extend south of the Washington Hill neighborhood to Eastern Avenue.

The northern section of Washington Hill from Fayette Street to Lombard Street is an enclave of homeownership that is showing signs of economic growth. The southern portion of the neighborhood, from Lombard Street to Eastern Avenue, though not within the neighborhood boundaries of Washington Hill, is an area of high distress, and contains Perkins Homes, another public housing development. Because the trends in the northern and southern portions of the tract differ dramatically, we have disaggregated data, whenever possible, to demonstrate the relative health of the northern Washington Hill neighborhood.

Douglass Homes and the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions

Douglass Homes is a low-rise public housing project separated from Johns Hopkins Hospital by Orleans Street. As with the original Broadway Homes, Fayette Street separates Douglass Homes from Washington Hill. Of the 90 families that were relocated from Broadway Homes between 1999 and 2000, 70 moved into other public housing developments, including the nearby Douglass Homes. Former residents of Lafayette Courts also moved to Douglass Homes as a result of the Lafayette Courts HOPE VI redevelopment (see Chapter 4). While Douglass residents have become marginally involved in the HOPE VI process, they have largely not enjoyed its benefits because the land swap relocated the redeveloped site farther away from Douglass Homes.

JHMI has been a leading presence and major investor in the Broadway Homes HOPE VI project since 1998. JHMI assisted HABC in preparing the HOPE VI grant application and in drafting plans for the redevelopment, and remains actively engaged in the HOPE VI project.

Butchers Hill and Upper Fells Point

Our preliminary analyses revealed that the surrounding neighborhoods of Butchers Hill and Upper Fells Point are geographically too far removed from both the old and the new Broadway Homes to be much influenced by spillover effects from the HOPE VI project. Overall, demographic and economic trends in these neighborhoods differ significantly from Broadway Homes and Washington Hill. Interviews with resident and business owners indicate the absence of any announcement effect in these neighborhoods; residents and neighborhood organizations are largely unaware of, or uninterested in, the development of Broadway Overlook, and do not believe that it will have an impact on their neighborhoods.

External Factors

Synopsis of Local, State, and Federal Programs

The Broadway Overlook HOPE VI project consists of significant financial investments by public and private entities. In addition, there are external local, state, and federal initiatives targeted on the East Baltimore neighborhood revitalization. Many of these programs are aimed at improving neighborhood conditions by creating opportunities for homeownership and employment. Figure 7.4 shows the home-buying incentives in the neighborhoods surrounding Broadway Homes, including Washington Hill, Butchers Hill, and Upper Fells Point. Broadway Overlook will be built within Baltimore's east side Empowerment Zone. JHMI participates in the State of Maryland's "Live Near Your Work" program, and has increased their \$3,000

grant to \$5,000 for employees who purchase homes in East Baltimore neighborhoods including Washington Hill, Butchers Hill, and Upper Fells Point.

Figure 7.4
Other Interventions:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Initiative	Sponsor	Primary Goals	Focus Area
Live Near Your Work	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	Encourages employees to live near their work	Washington Hill; Upper Fells Point; Butchers Hill
Settlement Expense Loan Program	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	Encourages home buying	Washington Hill; Upper Fells Point; Butchers Hill
Empowerment Zone	Federal Government	Revitalization; employment and economic development	Douglass Homes
Historic Preservation Tax Credits	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	Encourage renovation of existing housing units and improved property values	Washington Hill; Butchers Hill
Citizens for Washington Hill	Citizens for Washington Hill	Promote homeownership and renovation	Washington Hill

Source: *Live Baltimore* (2002).

Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions

As already noted, the presence of JHMI in this area of East Baltimore is an important external factor affecting neighborhood change. JHMI employs 25,000 people, with an additional 15,000 visitors passing through daily. Due to the growing presence of JHMI in the area, other development activities are dwarfed both in size and cost. During the 1990s, a \$172 million investment expanded JHMI by 583,000 square feet, followed by a 234,000 square foot, \$59 million expansion, and then a \$151 million, 592,000 square foot additional expansion. The growth of JHMI makes it difficult to isolate investment attributable to the announcement of the HOPE VI redevelopment. On the other hand, the presence of JHMI draws neighborhood investment that surrounding areas can benefit from. Thus, by all indicators, JHMI's presence has been, and continues to be, a positive factor in the success of Broadway Overlook. This pattern of adjacent neighborhoods affecting the HOPE VI site for better--or for worse--has already been noted in connection with other Baltimore HOPE VI sites.

Preview of Findings

“Keeping up with the Joneses”

The relocation of Broadway Homes residents to Washington Hill sets the stage for a spillover effect--but in the reverse direction from that anticipated by HOPE VI program designers. In the case of Broadway Homes, positive spillover effects are likely to occur from the Washington Hill neighborhood into the Broadway Overlook development. Positive trends in Washington Hill, including a growing number of homeowners, increasing property values, and decreasing crime, may positively influence Broadway Overlook. Being surrounded by an emergent community may encourage Broadway Overlook residents to “keep up with the Joneses,” by maintaining the same positive trends as their neighbors. Broadway Overlook is unique among the five HOPE VI projects because it is being built in a neighborhood that is on the rise. The theories

underlying HOPE VI, which include the positive effects of both homeownership and mixed-income housing, reflect the characteristics of the Washington Hill neighborhood and the plans for Broadway Overlook. If Broadway Overlook achieves these goals, residents have a better chance for interaction with their neighbors and integration into the surrounding neighborhoods.

Strong Community Organizations Assist in Neighborhood Improvement

Residents of both areas share a history of strong neighborhood activism, making them likely to continue to build their common neighborhood. This history has been coupled with strong leadership, which has led these groups to combine efforts and work together for the good of the neighborhood.

JHMI as an Institutional Player

The presence of JHMI is a positive influence in this area of East Baltimore. JHMI itself has invested \$3 million in the Broadway Homes HOPE VI project and additional resources in the surrounding neighborhoods. The involvement of such an important local stakeholder with a vested interest in the success of this HOPE VI project is expected to have a positive effect on the project, contributing to its success.

Negative Spillover: Displacement of Population to Surrounding Areas

Data suggest that some of the negative attributes of the former Broadway Homes population have been displaced to Douglass Homes, where a number of Broadway Homes residents moved. Douglass Homes also received residents from Lafayette Courts when that development was vacated in 1995. Douglass Homes has seen an increase in female headed-households with children and increased unemployment during the 1990s.

Neighborhood Analysis

Demographics and Socioeconomic Characteristics

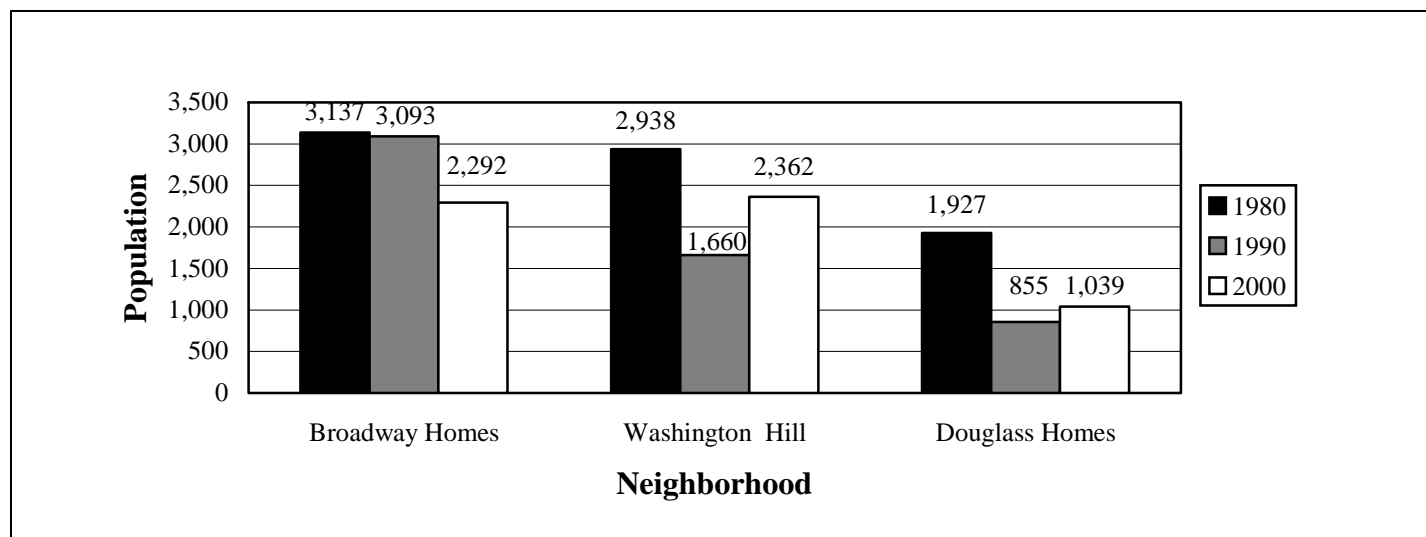
The demolition of Broadway Homes, relocation of residents, and announcement of the HOPE VI redevelopment project, have affected the demographics of the Broadway Homes neighborhood and adjacent neighborhoods. The population decline in this neighborhood is almost exclusively the result of the vacating of the project. Much of the population has been relocated in the Douglass Homes and Perkins Homes developments. Likewise, both Douglass Homes and Washington Hill, where Perkins Homes is located, experienced increases in female-headed households with children, partially as a result of the influx of families from Broadway Homes.

Population Trends

As shown in Figure 7.5, the population of the Broadway Homes neighborhood has been decreasing like Baltimore itself. But the neighborhood's 26 percent decline between 1990 and

**Figure 7.5
Population Trends:**

Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



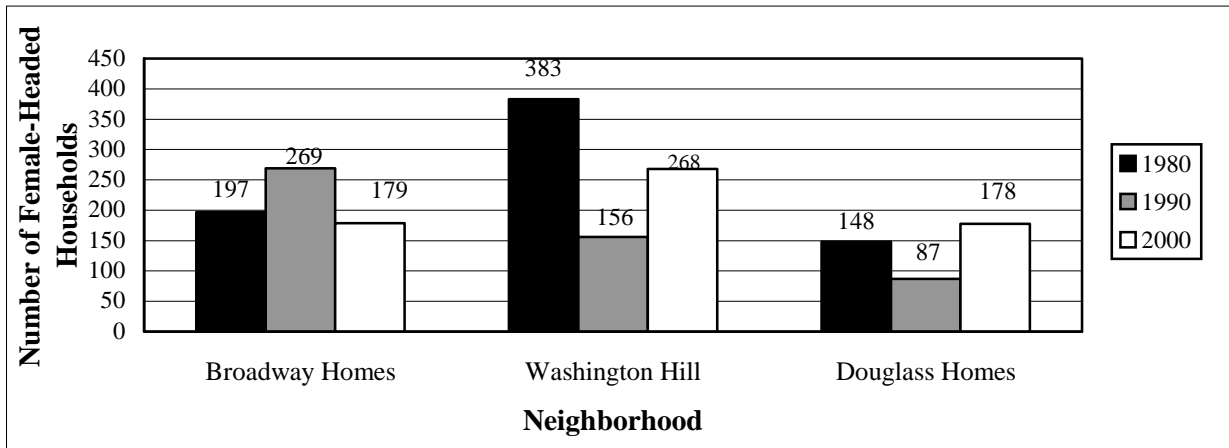
Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

2000, more than the twice the city's rate, corresponds with the vacating of Broadway Homes, which made up approximately 25 percent of the total population of the neighborhood. Between 1990 and 2000, 801 residents left the Broadway Homes neighborhood, of which 700 were residents of Broadway Homes. Increased population in Douglass Homes is due to renovations to the development in 1990, which artificially decreased the population for a short time, because units were vacated during the construction work. Similarly, a small portion of the increase for a short time, can be traced to the relocating of Broadway Homes residents to the Perkins Homes development at the end of the decade. (See additional demographic data in Appendix Table 7.1.)

Household Type

As seen in Figure 7.6, the population of female-headed households with children increased during the 1990s in Washington Hill and Douglass Homes and decreased in the Broadway Homes neighborhood, again, as a result of the vacating of Broadway Homes. The increase of this household type from 87 to 178 in Douglass Homes is likely a negative spillover from the displacement and relocation of some Broadway Homes households. Similarly, the increase from 56 to 268 in Washington Hill may also have been caused by former Broadway Homes residents moving into Perkins Homes.

Figure 7.6
Female-Headed Households With At Least One Child:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



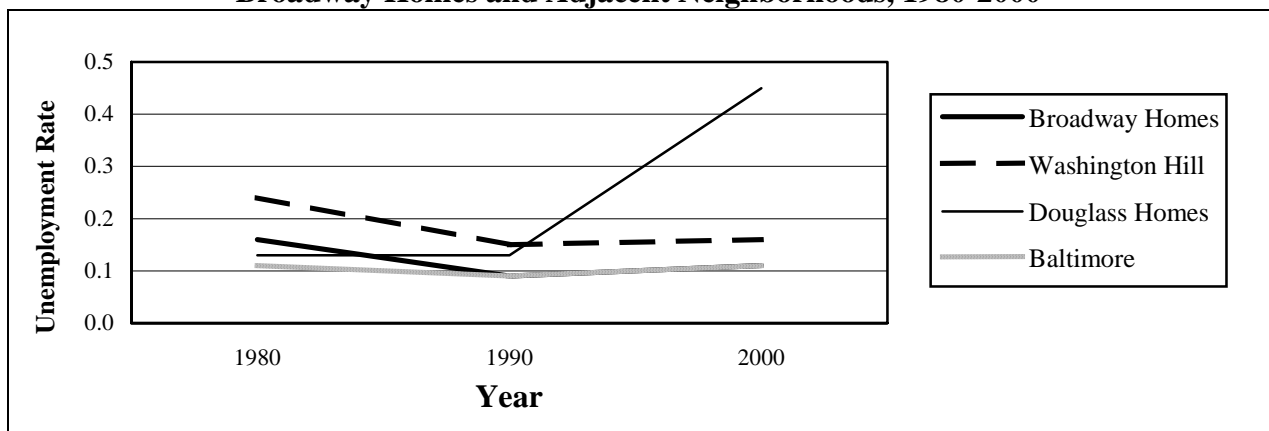
Sources:

Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Income

As shown in Figure 7.7, the median household income in the Broadway Homes and Washington Hill neighborhoods rose between 1980 and 1990 and then fell slightly in 2000,

Figure 7.7
Unemployment Rates:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000



Source

es: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

matching the citywide trend. When block group data are used to compare the northern portion of the Washington Hill neighborhood (bordered by Fayette on the north and Lombard on the south) with the southern portion of the neighborhood (bordered by Lombard on the north and Eastern Avenue on the south), however, these rates vary considerably. In 2000, the median income in the northern area was \$36,958, versus a median income of only \$8,199 in the southern area.

The increase in median household income in the Douglass Homes neighborhood contrasts with the increasing unemployment rates in that neighborhood. One interpretation for the conflicting income and unemployment trends is that working residents' earning increased in these neighborhoods while a greater number of their neighbors became unemployed.

Unemployment rates in the Broadway Homes and Washington Hill neighborhoods follow the general trend of the city over the last two decades. Unemployment rates in Douglass Homes climbed steeply in the 1990s: in 2000, Douglass Homes had a 45 percent unemployment rate, compared to an 11 percent rate citywide. Residents explain that this increase resulted, in part, from unemployed Broadway Homes and Lafayette Courts residents moving into Douglass Homes. (See Appendix Table 7.2 for more detailed socioeconomic data.)

Physical Environment

As shown on Figure 7.8, key features of the physical environment, including vacant and abandoned housing, and home and property upkeep, signify the transition occurring in the Broadway Homes neighborhood in the 1990s. By contrast, the steady improvement in the physical environment of Washington Hill over the decade seems an unlikely result of HOPE VI.

Figure 7.8
Synopsis of Physical Environment Measures:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Abandoned houses	Baltimore City Dept. of Housing and Community Development	1991-2002
Vacant houses and housing units	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Trash; beautification efforts; graffiti; streets and sidewalks	On-site observations	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as sanitation calls, parks and playground, did not follow a consistent pattern.

As shown in Table 7.2 during the 1990s, the proportion of vacant housing units increased dramatically in the Broadway Homes neighborhood, from 10 percent in 1990 to 35 percent in

Table 7.2
Physical Environment:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Baltimore
Number of housing units, 2000	1,376	1,134	610	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	1,531	1,063	594	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	1,303	1,271	850	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000	485 (35)	118 (.10)	54 (9)	42,281 (14.07)
Number of vacant housing units, 1990	156 (10)	433 (41)	180 (30)	27,222 (9.06)
Number of vacant housing units, 1980	116 (9)	216 (17)	49 (6)	21,045 (6.96)

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U.S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Note: Numbers in parenthesis represent percentage of total.

2000. This increase may also be related to the current uncertainty of the neighborhood as it awaits JHMI's construction on the original Broadway site and other initiatives, such as the proposed biotech park to the north. In Washington Hill, the percent of vacant units decreased from 41 percent to 10 percent from 1990 to 2000. Since the announcement of the relocation of Broadway Overlook to this area occurred in 1999, it cannot account for this increase.

Between 1991 and 2001, the number of abandoned houses in the Broadway Homes neighborhood increased from 56 to 72. This trend matches both the citywide trend and the trend for most of the surrounding neighborhoods. However, the number of abandoned houses declined in Washington Hill, from 74 in 1991 to 24 in 2001. This consistent decline is another demonstration that this neighborhood is growing. Table 7.3 summarizes our on-site observations in each neighborhood. These were based on 12 blocks (20 percent) in the Broadway Homes neighborhood, 16 blocks (12 percent) in Washington Hill and 13 blocks (37 percent) in the Douglass Homes neighborhood. All three neighborhoods appear to share similar home and property upkeep characteristics. This was somewhat surprising in view of the large disparities in other physical and social features of these neighborhoods. (Additional physical environment data can be found in Appendix Table 7.3.)

Table 7.3
Current Quality of Physical Environment:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes
Trash	3.6	3.3	3.5
Beautification Efforts	1.86	2.3	2.15
Condition of streets and sidewalks	2.83	3.16	2.7
Graffiti	4.75	4.16	4.8

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Blocks observed: 20 percent Broadway Homes; 12 percent Washington Hill; 37 percent Douglass Homes.

Note: Rated on a scale where 1= worst and 5= best.

Crime

A synopsis of crime measures we examined is shown in Figure 7.9. The crime indicators we examined in Broadway Homes that decreased match citywide trends. Because Broadway

Figure 7.9
Synopsis of Crime Measures:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Number of violent crimes	Baltimore City Police Department	1990; 1998
Number of auto thefts	Baltimore City Police Department	1990; 1998; 2000-2001
Juvenile arrests	Baltimore City Police Department	1996-1999

Number of property burglaries	Baltimore City Police Department	1998-2001
Interviews	5 arm's-length experts; 6 community experts; 7 business owners; 9 residents	October-November, 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as robberies and assaults, did not follow a consistent pattern.

Homes was a hotbed of drug activity and prostitution before HOPE VI, its demolition reduced crime rates in the immediate neighborhood. The increased JHMI security presence may also have improved neighborhood safety. Interviews suggest the increases in crime in Washington Hill occurred in the southern portion of the tract. Finally, the increasing crime in Douglass Homes may have resulted from the relocation of HOPE VI residents from Broadway Homes and Lafayette Courts.

As shown in Table 7.4, violent crimes, burglaries and auto thefts fell in the Broadway Homes neighborhood during the 1990s. These declines may be linked to the vacating of Broadway Homes, and to the increased JHMI security and patrols in the neighborhood during this period. The nine Douglass Homes residents we interviewed attributed the increase in violent crime and auto theft to relocated HOPE VI residents from both Broadway Homes and Lafayette Courts. These relocatees were viewed as disrupting the social fabric of the Douglass Homes development.

Table 7.4
Crime:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Baltimore
Number of violent crimes, 1998	86	174	58	14,421 (2.2)
Number of violent crime, 1990	102	101	33	16,174 (2.2)
Number of auto theft, 2001	22 (0.96)	27 (1.14)	17 (1.6)	7,622 (1.2)
Number of auto theft, 1990	38 (1.2)	17 (1.0)	8 (0.9)	8,380 (1.2)
Number of burglaries, 2001	27 (1.17)	49 (2.0)	10 (0.9)	10,041 (1.5)
Number of burglaries, 1998	55 (2.39)	77 (3.2)	23 (2.2)	13,939 (2.1)
Number of juvenile arrest, 1999	63 (2.74)	47 (1.9)	23 (2.2)	9,141 (1.4)
Number of juvenile arrest, 1996	60 (2.17)	53 (3.22)	49 (6.7)	10,488 (1.6)

Sources: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Note: 2000 population numbers used for the demoninators in the "rate per 100" calculations for 1999 and 2001. All other rates for intercensal years are based on population estimates.

By contrast, Washington Hill experienced an increase in both violent crimes and auto theft. Unfortunately, these data cannot be disaggregated between the northern and southern sections of the neighborhood. However, interviews in the northern section yielded the perception that crime in the northern section is declining. This perception confirms the previous conclusion that the northern section, where the new Broadway Overlook will be located, is stable. However, the discrepancy between crime data reported in police records and self-reported perceptions are well-known.

Nonetheless, the quantitative crime data support the perceptions of the experts we interviewed who agreed that the vacating and implosion of Broadway Homes reduced crime emanating from the Broadway Homes development. Previously, the crime within Broadway Homes, particularly drugs and prostitution, spilled over into neighboring areas. (Additional data on crime can be found in Appendix Table 7.4.)

School Quality

Enrollment declined from 901 students in 1993 to 379 in 2002 in the Commodore John Rogers Elementary School, located in the Broadway Homes neighborhood. Washington Hill has two schools within its borders: City Springs Elementary School, and Lombard Middle School. Both schools experienced a slight decline in enrollment since 1993. City Springs enrollment dropped from 519 students in 1993 to 428 in 2002, and Lombard Middle School enrollment declined from 783 in 1993 to 739 in 2002. These trends follow the declining population of youth in the neighborhoods. A synopsis of the school quality measures is shown in Figure 7.10.

Figure 7.10
Synopsis of School Quality Measures:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
MSPAP Scores	Maryland State Department of Education Maryland School Performance Report, 1993-2001	2002
Interviews	5 arm's-length experts; 6 community experts	October-November, 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as percentage of students receiving free and reduced meals, CTBS scores, attendance rates, and dropout rates, did not follow a consistent pattern.

MSPAP scores of 5th and 8th graders, shown in Table 7.5, improved in all study neighborhoods between 1993 and 2001, matching city trends. Improvements in City Springs Elementary outpaced the city, nearly achieving the satisfactory score for the state of 70. In 1996, City Springs became an independently run public school through the New School Initiative. It essentially operates as a charter school, which may explain its dramatic success. However, an expert interview emphasized that many children, particularly in Washington Hill, do not attend area schools. (Additional school quality data can be found in Appendix Table 7.5.)

Table 7.5
Measures of School Effects:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1993 and 2001

Measure	Commodore John Rogers Elementary School	City Springs Elementary & Lombard Middle School	Thomas Hayes	Dunbar Middle	Baltimore
MSPAP composite scores, percent of 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	17.9	60.5	17.30	NA	25.3
MSPAP composite scores, percent of 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	3.5	3.5	8.10	NA	10.7
MSPAP composite scores, percent of 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	8.9	NA	17.30	19.0
MSPAP composite scores, percent of 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	1.6	NA	4.10	8.7
Maryland State standard of percent of students scoring satisfactory	70	70	70	70	70

Source: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

NA=not applicable.

Image

Newspaper articles during the last half of the 1990s were neutral in their analysis of the changes at Broadway Homes. Interviews with five experts, however, support a perception that the announcement of the HOPE VI grant will result in a positive spillover from Washington Hill. This spillover, however, only emerged after the new location for Broadway Overlook was established, not when the HOPE VI grant was initially announced with its original location. A synopsis of measures we examined is shown in Figure 7.11.

Figure 7.11
Synopsis of Image Measures:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Newspaper articles	<i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	1996-2002
Interviews	5 arm's-length experts; 4 indigenous experts; 8 business owners; 12 residents	October-November 2002

A review of articles in *The Baltimore Sun* from 1996 to the present reveal primarily neutral reporting on Broadway Homes. Articles generally addressed changes occurring in the development, such as its demolition, awarding of the HOPE VI grant, and the land swap with JHMI.

Interviews with five experts confirmed a shared perception that Broadway Overlook, unlike other HOPE VI projects, has the major components necessary for success. A prominent community leader believes that the ultimate success of Broadway Overlook is contingent on its ability to implement mixed-income housing and integrate residents into the immediate neighborhood. The mixed-income profile of prospective Broadway Overlook tenants will more closely match the demographic and socioeconomic profile of Washington Hill, making integration more likely. Indigenous community leaders cite the close relationship between the Broadway Homes residents and Washington Hill residents (as described more fully in the discussion of social environment below), and believe this will strengthen neighborhood loyalty and deepen commitment to the area. In addition, five experts believe that the relationship with JHMI, its financial investment in the project, and standing in the city, will help ensure a successful HOPE VI project.

Economic Activity

Measures of economic activity suggest that the announcement of the HOPE VI redevelopment project, per se, did little to encourage public or private investment in the Broadway Homes neighborhood or in Washington Hill. However, Washington Hill is showing other signs of growth, supporting the perception that it is improving and that Broadway Overlook residents may benefit from this growth. A synopsis of measures of economic activity we examined is shown in Figure 7.12.

Figure 7.12
Synopsis of Economic Activity Measures:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Homeownership rates	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Construction and renovation permits	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	2000-2002
Median sales price	Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services	2000-2002
Owner-assessed value of home unit	Census data	1980; 1990-2000
Private investment	CSS Workplan; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; Office of Public and Indian Housing; Office of Urban Revitalization.	2001

Note: Other measures observed, such as home purchase loans, home improvement loans, and the number of families in poverty, did not follow a consistent pattern.

Homeownership Trends

As shown in Table 7.6, the number of homeowners in the Broadway Homes neighborhood decreased from 278 in 1990 to 210 in 2000. This decline corresponds with the decline in households in the neighborhood during the 1990s.

Homeownership levels in Washington Hill also declined from 133 homeowners in 1990 to 81 homeowners in 2000. However, when the Washington Hill census tract is divided in half, the northern half (from E. Fayette Street to Lombard Street), in which Broadway Overlook will be located, boasts an 88 percent homeownership rate, while the southern section of the same tract, from Lombard Street to Eastern Avenue, has an eight percent homeownership rate. Homeownership theory suggests that homeowners invest both money and energy into their properties. The high rate of homeownership in the area immediately surrounding Broadway

Overlook may act as a positive influence on the neighborhood.

Table 7.6
Economic Activity:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Baltimore
Number of homeowners, 2000	210	81	0	116,580
Number of homeowners, 1990	278	133	4	134,424
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.97	0.93	0	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.18	0.12	0.01	0.43

Sources: Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

As shown in Table 7.7, the number of building permits issued has decreased in the Broadway Homes neighborhood and its surrounding neighborhoods during the period from 1994 through 2000. However, like the city, the number of permits rose again in 2001 for all areas. It should be noted that in the Broadway Homes neighborhood, 56 of the 128 permits issued in 2001 were to JHMI. Similarly, in 2002, 13 of the 37 permits were issued to JHMI. In Washington Hill, permits have not been issued in bulk to any single client.

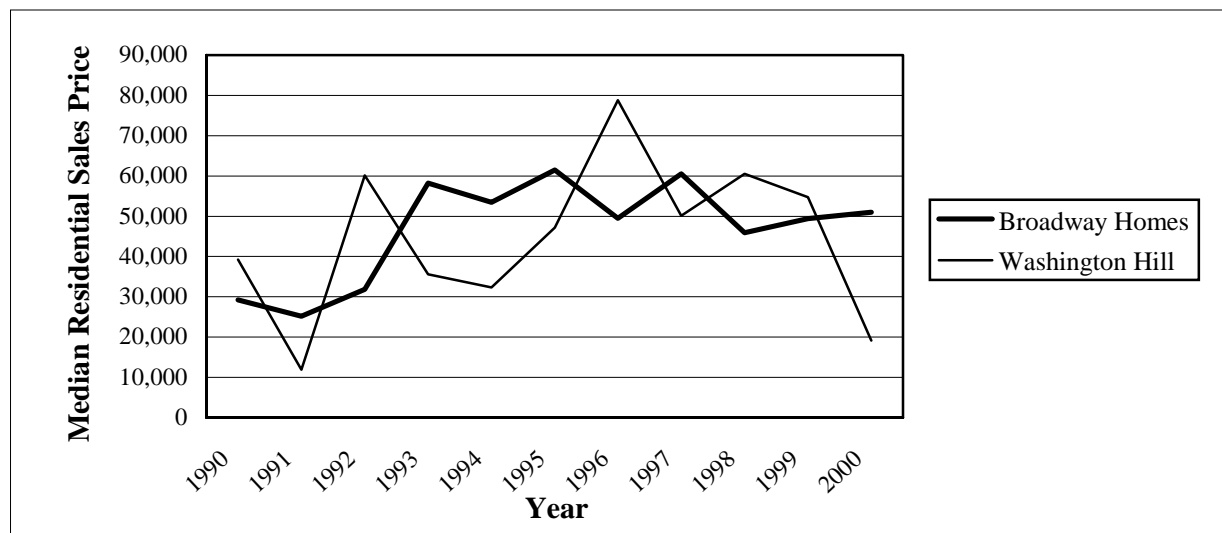
Table 7.7
Building Permits:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, January-April 2002	37	25	4
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 2001	128	102	24
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, August 1999-July 2000	35	22	12
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 1994	82	84	39

Sources: Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002c).

Figure 7.13 shows trends in median sales prices of residential property. Median sales prices in the Broadway Homes neighborhood increased by 69 percent during the 1990s, though the actual number of units sold decreased from 31 in 1990 to 25 in 1999. The JHMI expansion in the Broadway Homes neighborhood during this period may explain the increase in the median sales price.

Figure 7.13
Median Residential Sales Prices (2000\$):
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1990-2000



Source: Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services (2000).

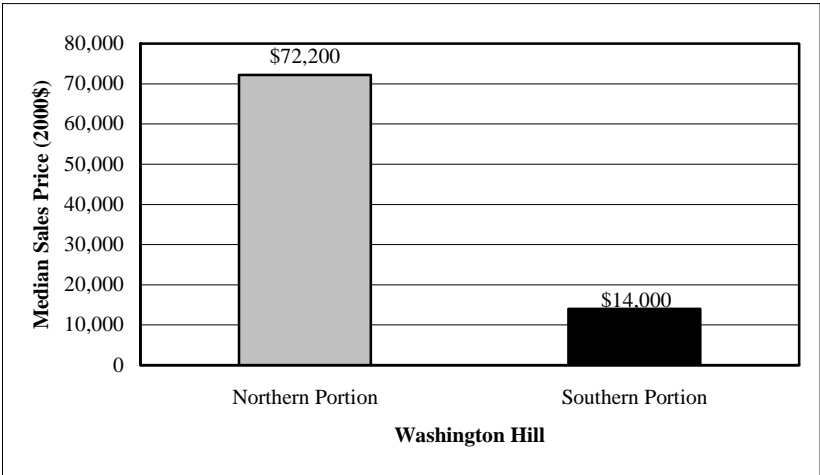
Note: 1. No properties sold in the Douglass Homes tract.

2. In the Broadway Homes neighborhood, 31 units were sold in 1990 and 20 units were sold in 2000. In Washington Hill, 18 units were sold in 1990 and 10 units were sold in 2000.

Washington Hill experienced dramatic fluctuations in sales prices over the decade, but averaged a 65 percent decline. This followed an overall increase in median sales price of 39 percent during the 1980s. At least part of the explanation for the 1990s decline is the disparity between the northern and southern portions of the

tract. When the northern section is compared with the southern, there is a dramatic contrast. As shown in Figure 7.14 median sales price in the northern section in 2000 was \$72,000, versus \$14,000 in the southern section. This confirms the view that the northern portion of this neighborhood is on the rise.

Figure 7.14
Median Residential Sales Price:
Washington Hill Neighborhood, 2000



Source: Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services (2000).

Figure 7.15 shows that the original HOPE VI plan included leveraged private investment included in the estimated at \$22,287,620. The original plan was significantly revised after the land swap and redesign of Broadway Overlook. However, we could not identify any additional outside investment in the Broadway Overlook neighborhood. It should be noted that the growth of JHMI in the neighborhood dwarfs any other development activity in both size and cost. During the 1990s, a \$172 million investment expanded JHMI by 583,000 square feet, followed by a 234,000 square foot, \$59 million expansion, and then a \$151 million, 592,000 square foot additional expansion.

The diversity of community investors indicates broad interest in improving the social environment for residents of Broadway Overlook. This holistic approach to urban planning may increase the chances that the varied needs of residents are met, creating a healthy neighborhood. For example, part of JHMI’s investment will provide assistance for community services to residents, such as day care, job and self-sufficiency training, and health services. Other organizations are providing social services, such as after-school programs and a wellness clinic. (Additional economic data can be found in Appendix Table 7.6.)

Figure 7.15
Non-Public Funds for Development,
Community and Supportive Services:
Broadway Overlook HOPE VI

Organization	Contribution	Purpose
Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions	\$3,000,000	Physical development and community and supportive services
Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	\$10,000,000 \$1,000,000 \$500,000	Tax exempt bonds RHPP low-interest loan Neighborhood revitalization
Baltimore American Indian Center/ Head Start	\$350,000 ¹	Daycare Head Start Center operations
East Baltimore Community Corporation/GATE	\$250,000 ¹	Job training; employment development; career counseling; elimination of barriers to work.
Boys & Girls Club	\$70,000 ¹	After-school cultural and martial arts
Johns Hopkins School of Nursing	\$200,000 ¹	Health Homes education; on-site health/wellness clinic.
Crestar CDC	\$3,000,000	Construction loan.
The Richman Group	\$3,459,620	Investor equity.
Civic Works	\$65,000 ¹	Americorps environment program for adults and youth.
Enoch Pratt Free Library	\$393,000 ¹	Operating expenses for the new Broadway branch.
TOTAL	\$22,287,620	

Source: Baltimore City Housing Authority (1991).

Note: 1. Estimated annual in-kind contribution.

Social Environment

We examined selected characteristics of neighborhood-based organization and interaction among communities in the study neighborhoods, summarized in Figure 7.16, to understand how the announcement of the HOPE VI grant has affected organizational activity and social capital in Broadway Homes its adjacent neighborhoods. This analysis suggests that the HOPE VI grant and land swap have increased contact between the residents of the two neighborhoods, which may ease the integration of Broadway Overlook residents into Washington Hill.

Figure 7.16
Synopsis of Social Environment Measures:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Dates
Community organizations	Baltimore City Data Collaborative	November 2002
Neighborhood activity	On-site observations	October 2002
Interviews	5 arm's-length experts; 4 indigenous experts; 8 business owners; 12 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, including public transportation routes and residential tenure, did not follow a consistent pattern.

Neighborhood Groups

Key features of neighborhood groups are summarized in Figure 7.17. The two primary organizations groups in the two study neighborhoods are the Broadway Homes Residents Council (BHRC) and Citizens for Washington Hill (CWH). BHRC was an active force in the Broadway Homes public housing development, establishing a floor patrol program to decrease prostitution traffic, distributing food to residents, organizing movie hours, and developing an eviction prevention program for residents. In its 30-year history, CWH reports that it increased neighborhood homeownership from 13 percent to 87 percent, and also successfully lobbied for public and private funds for housing renovations in the neighborhood. To date, CWH has constructed and renovated 700 units. (A full list of community organizations can be found in Appendix Table 7.7.)

Before the land swap announcement, BHRC and CWH did not interact. After the land swap announcement, CWH was outspoken about the placement of a large, low-income subsidized housing development in their neighborhood. After intense negotiations, all parties agreed to the land swap under strict regulations. Key conditions include the following:

- Baltimore agrees to develop City Springs Park, and the Fayette Street and Broadway corridors;
- Landex, the developer, commits to matching the physical design of new units with Washington Hill residences; and
- JHMI agrees to development restrictions on the Broadway Homes site; provides \$5,000 per year for 10 years to CWH to maintain the median strip running down Broadway; and provides a \$500,000 trust to the BHRC for resident support services.

Figure 7.17
Neighborhood Based Organizations:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Name of the Organization	Primary Focus	Annual budget	Number of Staff
Citizens for Washington Hill (tract 301)	Promote homeownership and property maintenance in the community.	\$50, 000	1 director 12 volunteers (Board of Directors)
Hope Village, Inc / Broadway Overlook Residents Council (tracts 604; 301)	Support through youth Programs (music; theater; computers; martial arts; arts and crafts; jobs; drug prevention) job finding; education; domestic violence and drug rehabilitation for adults; represents the interests of original Broadway Homes residents.	\$240,000	5 staff

While the announcement effect initially created a negative reaction in CWH, these residents are now working cooperatively with BHRC. Both tenant organizations will have offices in the new community building and will benefit from its services and programs, and both are part of the Development Advisory Board that continues to oversee the HOPE VI development. The Douglass Homes Tenants Council Association (DHTCA) has recently come to the table, and has two delegates on the Advisory Board. DHTCA's increased activity is an indication of their desire not to be left behind, in essence an announcement

effect. The HOPE VI announcement has not had a significant impact on organizations located farther away from the immediate HOPE VI site.

If the strong history of neighborliness and local activism within each organization extends to cooperative work among organizations, including BHRC, CWH and now DHTCA, Broadway Homes residents are more likely to be integrated into Washington Hill, with the hypothesized beneficial neighborhood effects of such integration.

Key Findings

Broadway Overlook is being relocated to a healthy neighborhood, Washington Hill. The vitality of this neighborhood is demonstrated by its increasing income levels, homeownership rates, building permits and a positive image. HOPE VI theories, including mixed-income population and high homeownership rates, are key characteristics of Washington Hill that may result in positive spillovers for Broadway Overlook. Being surrounded by an emergent community may encourage Broadway Overlook residents to “keep up with the Joneses,” by maintaining the same positive trends as their neighbors.

A history of neighborhood activism among resident organizations and strong neighborhood leaders together should create a foundation for positive neighborhood development, easing the integration of Broadway Overlook residents into the Washington Hill neighborhood. Last but certainly not least, JHMI, as a leading city player and significant private investor has the resources to assist this HOPE VI project and has a strong vested interest in seeing it succeed.

Appendix Table 7.1
Demographic Characteristics:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Upper Fells Point & Butchers Hill	Butchers Hill	Upper Fells Point	Upper Fells Point	Baltimore
Population								
Total population, 2000	2,292	2,362	1,039	1,897	1,943	1,998	2,212	651,154
Total population, 1990	3,093	1,660	855	1,968	2,608	2,148	1,916	736,014
Total population, 1980	3,137	2,938	1,927	2,268	2,974	2,687	2,228	786,775
Percent change in population, 1990-2000	-25.90	42.29	21.52	-3.61	-25.50	-6.98	15.45	-11.53
Percent change in population, 1980-1990	-1.40	-43.50	-55.63	-13.23	12.31	-20.06	-14	-6.45
Percent change in population, 1980-2000	-26.94	-19.61	-46.08	-16.36	-34.67	-25.64	-0.72	-17.24
Percent black population, 2000	84.55	78.75	86.72	7.38	73.24	13.46	14.33	64.34
Percent black population, 1990	83.16	60.48	85.03	5.23	59.89	7.87	10.86	54.8
Percent black population, 1980	83.74	73.28	60.72	1.46	47.68	2.79	5.12	55.18
Percent hispanic or latino population, 2000	1.66	3.39	0.48	15.34	3.81	13.96	27.58	1.71
Percent hispanic or latino population, 1990	1.10	2.83	0.35	6	2.65	4.93	10.44	1.03
Percent hispanic or latino population, 1980	0.92	1.36	1.97	2.87	1.75	3.39	6.06	1.04
Family characteristics								
Number of households, 2000	893	1,078	540	1,047	707	890	1,435	257,788
Number of households, 1990	1,375	630	414	924	902	939	812	276,484
Number of households, 1980	1,187	1,055	801	980	922	1,040	914	281,414
Number of female-households with at least one child, 2000	179	268	178	47	179	62	83	34,329
Number of female-households with at least one child, 1990	269	156	87	93	252	108	75	46,163
Number of female-households with at least one child, 1980	197	383	148	43	197	144	108	37,186

Appendix Table 7.1 (continued)

Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 2000	757	719	265	271	619	321	404	161,353
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1990	807	405	221	346	845	450	370	179,869
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1980	1,058	1,134	478	492	1,007	702	494	211,943

Sources: *Geolytics* (2000); *Wessex* (1993); *U. S. Bureau of the Census* (2000).

Appendix Table 7.2
Socioeconomic Characteristics:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Upper Fells Point & Butchers Hill	Butchers Hill	Upper Fells Point	Upper Fells Point	Baltimore
Employment								
Unemployment rate, 2000	0.11	0.16	0.45	0.05	0.18	0.06	0.11	0.11
Unemployment rate, 1990	0.09	0.15	0.13	0.07	0.10	0.11	0.08	0.09
Unemployment rate, 1980	0.16	0.24	0.13	0.09	0.18	0.17	0.08	0.11
Income								
Median household income, 2000	\$18,583	\$11,119	\$12,550	\$37,670	\$20,720	\$32,593	\$45,588	\$30,078
Median household income, 1990	\$20,946	\$17,158	\$6,895	\$28,160	\$22,799	\$29,601	\$28,441	\$30,747
Median household income, 1980	\$13,182	\$9,181	\$13,915	\$19,594	\$22,173	\$20,082	\$23,155	\$25,467
Per capita income, 2000	\$15,613	\$9,720	\$7,269	\$26,648	\$10,990	\$23,009	\$21,048	\$16,978
Per capita income, 1990	\$12,163	\$11,788	\$7,071	\$17,098	\$12,343	\$16,211	\$14,805	\$15,965
Per capita income, 1980	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

NA=not applicable.

Appendix Table 7.3
Physical Environment:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Upper Fells Point & Butchers Hill	Butchers Hill	Upper Fells Point	Upper Fells Point	Baltimore
Number of housing units, 2000	1,376	1,134	610	1,152	979	1,136	1,089	300,477
Number of housing units, 1990	1,531	1,063	594	1,135	1,056	1,111	1,018	303,706
Number of housing units, 1980	1,303	1,271	850	1,143	1,085	1,172	1,031	302,459
Number of vacant housing units, 2000	485	118	54	203	276	234	184	42,281
Number of vacant housing units, 1990	156	433	180	211	154	172	206	27,222
Number of vacant housing units, 1980	116	216	49	163	163	132	117	21,045
Percent vacant housing units, 2000	0.35	0.10	0.09	0.18	0.28	0.21	0.17	14.07
Percent vacant housing units, 1990	0.10	0.41	0.30	0.19	0.15	0.15	0.20	9.06
Percent vacant housing units, 1980	0.09	0.17	0.06	0.14	0.15	0.11	0.11	6.96
Number of abandoned houses, 2001	72	24	0	24	147	39	31	13,619
Number of abandoned houses, 2000	66	21	0	20	136	40	32	12,298
Number of abandoned houses, 1999	63	34	0	23	151	36	28	11,844
Number of abandoned houses, 1998	51	41	0	17	139	36	22	11,310
Number of abandoned houses, 1997	50	47	0	17	154	29	21	10,609
Number of abandoned houses, 1996	44	44	0	18	133	28	19	9,269
Number of abandoned houses, 1995	48	44	0	15	93	27	18	8,222
Number of abandoned houses, 1994	50	58	0	12	80	25	14	7,196
Number of abandoned houses, 1993	58	57	0	12	71	20	14	6,871
Number of abandoned houses, 1992	53	61	1	14	57	17	18	6,334
Number of abandoned houses, 1991	56	74	1	17	49	23	10	5,923

Source: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000) ; Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2002a; 2002b).

Appendix Table 7.4
Crime:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1993-2001

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Upper Fells Point & Butchers Hill	Butchers Hill	Upper Fells Point	Upper Fells Point	Baltimore
Violent crimes								
Number of violent crimes, 1998	86	174	58	53	133	130	46	14,421
Number of violent crimes, 1990	102	101	33	49	91	83	30	16,174
Property burglaries								
Number of property burglaries, 2001	27	44	44	57	49	48	10	10,041
Number of property burglaries, 2000	52	59	85	67	63	42	17	10,965
Number of property burglaries, 1999	54	67	57	59	47	40	14	11,846
Number of property burglaries, 1998	55	58	96	72	77	82	23	13,939
Auto thefts								
Number of auto thefts, 2001	22	27	17	18	27	15	17	7,622
Number of auto thefts, 2000	21	9	24	27	43	20	19	7,986
Number of auto thefts, 1999	23	20	20	11	29	15	9	7,091
Number of auto thefts, 1998	24	8	22	25	26	9	24	7,628
Number of auto thefts, 1990	38	17	8	8	17	21	8	8,380
Juvenile arrests								
Number of juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1999	63	5	20	12	47	88	23	9,141
Number of juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1998	62	19	18	17	45	77	29	9,862
Number of juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1997	56	14	26	21	66	83	40	10,596
Number of juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1996	60	16	17	23	53	54	49	10,488
Total arrests in development								
Total arrests, 2001	3	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Total arrests, 2000	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Total arrests, 1999	14	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Total arrests, 1998	19	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Total arrests, 1997	23	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Total arrests, 1996	37	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Total arrests, 1995	40	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Appendix Table 7.4 (continued)

Total arrests, 1994	54	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Total arrests, 1993	28	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: *Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001); Housing Authority of Baltimore City Police Department (undated).*

NA=not Applicable.

Appendix Table 7.5
School Quality:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1993-2001

Measure	Commodore John Rogers Elementary	City Springs Elementary & Lombard Middle	Thomas Hayes	Dunbar Middle	Dunbar High	Baltimore
Students receiving free and reduced meals	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Percent elementary students, 2001	49.00	94.20	95.2	NA	NA	76.20
Percent elementary students, 1993	90.50	93.30	82.1	NA	NA	67.70
Percent middle school students, 2001	NA	84.00	NA	92.50	NA	76.30
Percent middle school students, 1993	NA	88.60	NA	88.40	NA	67.70
Percent high school students, 2001	NA	NA	NA	NA	41.40	47.50
Percent high school students, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	47.00	67.70
MSPAP composite scores						
Percent 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	17.90	60.50	17.30	NA	NA	25.30
Percent 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	3.50	3.50	8.10	NA	NA	10.70
Percent 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	8.90	NA	17.30	NA	19.00
Percent 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	1.60	NA	4.10	NA	8.70
Attendance rates						
Elementary school, 2001	92.10	95.60	93.60	NA	NA	94.00
Elementary school, 1993	92.10	91.00	92.40	NA	NA	93.00
Event dropout rate per year¹						
High school, 2001	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.33	10.32
High school, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	6.31	18.53

Source: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

Note: 1. Event dropout rates reflect the percentage of students who drop out in a single year without completing high school.

NA=note applicable.

Appendix Table 7.6
Economic Activity:
Broadway Homes and Adjacent Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

Measure	Broadway Homes	Washington Hill	Douglass Homes	Upper Fells Point & Butchers Hill	Butchers Hill	Upper Fells Point	Upper Fells Point	Baltimore
Construction & renovation								
Number of construction & renovation permits issued, 2001	128	102	24	290	105	350	217	NA
Number of construction & renovation permits issued, August 1999-July 2000	35	22	12	37	11	74	60	NA
Number of construction & renovation permits issued, 1994	82	84	39	66	47	72	82	NA
Homeownership								
Number of homeowners, 2000	210	81	0	453	238	380	289	116,580
Number of homeowners, 1990	278	133	4	457	386	500	425	134,424
Number of homeowners, 1980	126	118	3	469	329	565	491	132,735
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.10	0.09	0.00	0.41	0.30	0.48	0.47	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.18	0.12	0.01	0.40	0.37	0.45	0.42	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1980	0.15	0.07	0.00	0.39	0.24	0.33	0.27	0.44
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 2000	\$76,800	\$70,700	\$0	\$84,800	\$52,400	\$84,500	\$55,900	\$62,600
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 1990	\$86,803	\$50,330	\$49,023	\$58,043	\$51,114	\$57,912	\$64,448	\$65,107
Median home value of owner-occupied units, 1980	\$86,803	\$50,330	\$49,023	\$58,043	\$51,114	\$57,912	\$64,448	\$46,410

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000). Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002c).

NA=not applicable.

Appendix Table 7.7
Neighborhood-Based Organizations:
Broadway Homes and Surrounding Neighborhoods

Name of Organization	Primary Focus	Budget (annual)	Number of Staff	Person in charge	Affected by Broadway Overlook HOPE VI
Citizens for Washington Hill <i>Tract 301</i>	Promote homeownership and property maintenance in the community.	\$50,000	1 Director; 12 volunteers (Board of Directors)	Maureen Smith	Yes
Hope Village, Inc. / Broadway Overlook Residents Council <i>Tracts 604; 301</i>	Support residents through youth Programs (music; theater; computers; martial arts; arts and crafts; jobs; drug prevention) and job finding; education; domestic violence and drug rehabilitation for adults . Defend rights and interests of old Broadway Homes residents before the City and JHMI.	\$240,000	5 Staff	Harry Karas	Yes
Douglas Homes Tenants Council Association <i>Tract 605</i>	Residents representation facing the management and assistance to residents needs (in education; food; domestic violence; drug addition).	NA	6 volunteers	Martha Benton	Yes
Butchers Hill Association <i>Tracts 604; 603; 202; 201; 105</i>	Promoting homeownership and neighborhood improvement through beautification, social events, monthly newsletter, annual house tour.	\$6,000	12 volunteers; 300 paid members	Sue Noonan	No
Baltimore Hispanic Business Group, Inc. <i>Tract 202</i>	Support latino entrepreneurs to comply with the requirements needed to register as contractors for government.	None	4 volunteers (Board of Directors); 20 members	Dr. Sonia Fierro Luperini	No
Southeast Senior Housing Initiative <i>Tracts 202; 201; 105</i>	Help senior adults with housing choices so that they can stay in their homes and communities.	\$274,000	5 staff	Peter M. Merles	No
HEBCAC (Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition)	Empowerment zone area	\$5 million	NA	NA	No

Source: Baltimore City Department of Planning (2000).

NA=not applicable.

CHAPTER 8

FLAG HOUSE COURTS

Executive Summary

The original Flag House Courts development opened in 1955 and was demolished in February 2001. Its 487 housing units included 354 units in three high-rise buildings and 133 units in 15 low-rise buildings. Flag House Courts gained a reputation for crime and drug problems in the mid-1980s and 1990s. In 1998, HABC received a \$21.5 million federal HOPE VI grant to tear down Flag House Courts and construct a redesigned public housing development. The redeveloped HOPE VI project will contain 338 units: 130 public housing rental units; 48 market rate rental units; 42 for-sale condominiums; and 118 homeownership units, of which 10 will be affordable homeownership units for low-income residents.

Flag House Courts sits in the center of census tract 302. The neighborhood to the north of Flag House Courts, Jonestown, is one of the oldest neighborhoods in Baltimore and contains the historic Shot Tower and Star Spangled Banner Flag House Museum. Little Italy, to the south, is an economically strong neighborhood, with many restaurants and festivals that attract tourists and residents from all parts of Baltimore and the metropolitan area. It also has a solid homeownership enclave that is aging.

This chapter is different from Chapters 4 through 7 because the three neighborhoods that are relevant for studying the potential spillover effects of Flag House Courts are contained within one census tract. These three distinct neighborhoods are: “Flag House Vicinity,” Jonestown; and Little Italy. We examined the transition and announcement effects of Flag House Courts by comparing the Flag House Vicinity neighborhood to the adjacent neighborhoods of Jonestown and Little Italy. We relied primarily on census block group data, using block and address data where available (see Technical Appendix). Our analysis accounted for the fact that the block group boundaries are not entirely consistent with the boundaries of these neighborhoods as established by the Baltimore Planning Department.

The major demographic effect occurring as a result of the transition from the old development to the new development has been a significant reduction in the poor, black population in Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown. The physical environment of the Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown neighborhoods is very dilapidated, while Little Italy is in good condition. Most crime fell in all three neighborhoods, but the fear and perception of crime appear to have heightened shortly before demolition, as criminals used the nearly vacant high-rises as hiding places and bases of operation. Although it is difficult to determine whether the transition affected school quality, the image of the Flag House Vicinity neighborhood improved slightly after the announcement of the demolition of the old development.

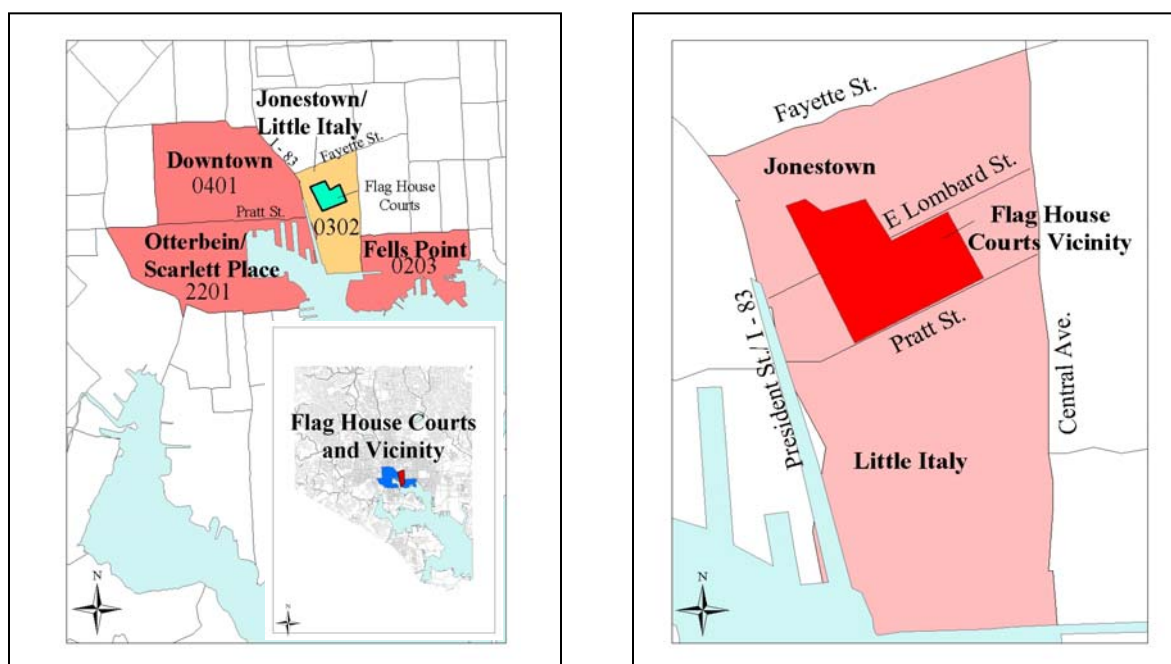
There was almost no increased economic activity in Jonestown or Little Italy that could be attributed to the announcement of the Flag House Courts HOPE VI grant. After the demolition of Flag House Courts, the Little Italy Community Organization filed a lawsuit against the HOPE VI redevelopment in an attempt to halt construction. The Little Italy and Flag House Courts neighborhoods have a strong history of cooperation dating back to the 1970s and the early 1980s. This positive interaction ended in the 1980s as a result of a national change in public

housing policy that gave preference to the very poor and the homeless. By contrast, residents of the new Flag House Courts will have mixed incomes that may more closely resemble the residents who lived there in the 1970s, possibly rekindling the positive relationships between Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy.

Introduction to HOPE VI Intervention

As shown in Figure 8.1, Flag House Courts lies in census tract 302, which also encompasses the Jonestown and Little Italy neighborhoods. Flag House Courts stood at the southern edge of Jonestown directly north of Little Italy. Pratt Street is a strong psychological barrier between the Jonestown and Little Italy neighborhoods.

Figure 8.1
Flag House Courts and Adjacent Neighborhoods



Note: Census tract number noted under neighborhood name.

The original Flag House Courts public housing development opened in 1955. Its 487 housing units included 354 units in three high-rise buildings and 133 units in 15 low-rise buildings. In 1998, HABC received a \$21.5 million federal HOPE VI grant to demolish Flag House Courts and construct a redesigned public housing development.¹ Demolition occurred in February 2001.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, Flag House Courts gained a reputation for crime and drug problems. An article appearing in *U.S. News and World Report* described Flag House Courts as a place where “drug dealers ruled the building's stairways and often you would be met with an Uzi whether you were a maintenance worker, building manager or a resident” (Popkin 1994).

The redeveloped HOPE VI project will contain 338 units: 130 public housing rental units; 48 market rate rental units; 42 for-sale condominiums; and 118 homeownership units, of

which 10 will be affordable homeownership units for low income residents.² The revitalization plans also call for a community center, a youth development center, and a training center that will house a number of economic development activities such as a Walgreen's drug store and the rehabilitation of the Lombard Street corridor.

Completion of the redevelopment is not expected to meet its original December 2004 target date at least, in part, because HABC is required to limit the number of public housing units that can be built on the site in accordance with a 1996 ACLU lawsuit. There is currently a vacant field where the original Flag House Courts was located.

We began by comparing data from the census tract in which Flag House Courts is located with data from surrounding tracts, as shown in Figure 8.2. We soon found, however, that these surrounding neighborhoods are geographically and socially isolated from Flag House Courts. Therefore, we eliminated these neighborhoods from further analysis and, instead, concentrated on three neighborhoods within the single census tract 302. (Appendix Figure 8.1 summarizes our rationale for excluding these other tracts.)

Figure 8.2
Neighborhood Characteristics:
Flag House Courts and Adjacent Tracts

Name	Census Tract	Key Attributes
HOPE VI Neighborhood	302	Contains Jonestown and Little Italy with a strong psychological barrier between the two due to Pratt St.
Fells Point	203	Strong, insular neighborhood adjacent to the Harbor. It is a historical neighborhood that attracts tourists and is a popular neighborhood for younger, wealthy residents.
Downtown	401	Strong, primarily commercial and cultural area with few residents. There are currently several construction projects in the area.
Otterbein/Scarlet Place	2201.01	Encompasses the Inner Harbor and Federal Hill, popular tourist attractions and commercial centers.

Sources: On-site observations (2000). Interviews with 10 arm's-length experts; five indigenous experts; 13 business owners; and 11 residents (2002).

Flag House Vicinity

Figure 8.3 provides a synopsis of the key features of the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood, which we designate Flag House Vicinity, and the adjacent neighborhoods of Jonestown and Little Italy. Flag House Vicinity consists primarily of the vacant area where the original Flag House Courts once stood. The Flag House Museum, a restaurant, and the Baltimore Brewing Company, are directly across Albemarle Street from the Flag House Courts lot. Lombard Street, adjacent to Flag House Courts, was once a thriving business area known as Corned Beef Row, which now contains only three delis. However, the Flag House Courts area is ripe for commercial investment because of its proximity to Downtown and growing tourist attractions. The Inner Harbor, with such attractions as Powerplant Live! and Port Discovery, border Flag House Courts to the west. Little Italy and its well-regarded restaurants border Flag House Courts to the south, and Fells Point, with its many entertainment venues, lie southeast of Flag House Courts. These areas are shown in the map in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.3
Neighborhood Characteristics:
Flag House Vicinity and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Name	Key Attributes
Flag House Vicinity	Mostly comprised of residents of the former Flag House Courts housing development. Western region is a historic district and has a restaurant and museum. The Eastern region is a rundown business area with three restaurants.
Jonestown	A designated historic district. Run down in parts, particularly between Baltimore and Lombard Streets, with beautification efforts around the two museums and East Baltimore Street near the metro stop. There are several soup kitchens and homeless shelters.
Little Italy	A pristine Italian American community characterized by its many restaurants. Many beautification efforts, benches, and resident activity.

Sources: On-site observations (2000). Interviews with 10 arm's-length experts; five indigenous experts; 13 business owners; and 11 residents (2002).

Tract 302 contains three distinct neighborhoods: Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy. As shown in Figure 8.1, Flag House Vicinity sits between Lombard and Pratt Streets and contains most of the Flag House Courts development. As noted, we view this as the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood for this analysis. Jonestown extends from East Fayette Street to Lombard Street, and contains a small portion of the Flag House Courts development. Little Italy extends south of Pratt Street to the Inner Harbor.

Jonestown

Jonestown was one of the original Baltimore neighborhoods. This area contains several historic sites, such as the Flag House Museum, the Shot Tower, and the Jewish Museum of Maryland. Until the 1820s, Jonestown was home to many of Baltimore's wealthiest residents. It then underwent successive waves of demographic change. In the 1840s, Italian, Jewish, and Irish immigrants populated Jonestown, while black residents settled in Jonestown in the middle of the 20th century. By 1979, 98 percent of Jonestown residents lived in public housing (*Live Baltimore* 2002).

Little Italy

Pratt Street is Little Italy's northern boundary, and is the dividing line between this neighborhood and Flag House Vicinity. Little Italy began as a community of Italian immigrants and its population still includes a high proportion of Italian Americans. However, many of the long-term residents are aging and are slowly being replaced by young professionals. Little Italy draws many tourists and Baltimore residents to its more than 20 restaurants and festivals, including an outdoor film festival during the summer and a "Taste of Little Italy" festival in September (*Live Baltimore* 2002).

External Factors

As is the case for the other HOPE VI redevelopments reviewed in this report, part of the difficulty in isolating the net impact of the Flag House Courts redevelopment on its surrounding neighborhoods are the other initiatives also potentially affecting these neighborhoods. These external factors are summarized in Figure 8.4. Although we did our best to distinguish the

effects of the Flag House Courts redevelopment from these other government initiatives, the nature of our analysis made it impossible to do so with certainty.

Figure 8.4
Other Interventions:
Flag House Vicinity and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Type	Sponsor	Primary Goals	Focus Area
Live Near Your Work	Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development	Encourages employees to live near their work.	Employer specified target area
Empowerment Zone	Federal Government	Redevelopment; creation of economic and job opportunities.	Entire census tract
Down payment and Settlement Expense Loan Program	State of Maryland	Settlement expense loans on a first mortgage.	Entire census tract
Housing Venture Fund	Empower Baltimore	Redevelopment; Offers funding for those who buy property within an Empowerment Zone.	Entire census tract
Heritage Area / Historic Neighborhood	Baltimore City	Historic Preservation.	Selected areas of Jonestown
Museum Walk Cultural Alliance	N/A	Tourist attraction; landscaping; banners; pedestrian improvements; kiosks.	Jonestown/ FH Courts Vicinity
Pleasant View Gardens	Housing Authority of Baltimore City	HOPE VI Neighborhood.	Upper Jonestown

Source: Interviews with two arm's-length experts, three businesses, and two indigenous experts (2002).

Preview of Findings

Before the demolition of Flag House Courts, the Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown neighborhoods were islands of poor, mostly black residents, with few businesses along Lombard Street. They were bordered on the west and south by wealthier, white neighborhoods (e.g., Little Italy and Scarlet Place Condominiums) and popular commercial areas (e.g., Downtown and Inner Harbor). Due to the early stage of the redevelopment--the project has yet to break ground--the main transition effect of this HOPE VI revitalization has been the almost complete emptying out of the poor, black neighborhoods of Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown. Jonestown contains one-third of the Flag House Courts complex. The tremendous loss of population in Jonestown is likely attributable to the loss of residents from this portion of the neighborhood. Unfortunately, we cannot verify this empirically because the census block group boundaries for the neighborhoods were changed dramatically in the 1990s so that 20 year population data are not available. Prior to the demolition, residents of Flag House Courts comprised two-thirds of the Flag House Vicinity neighborhood, with the remaining one third residents of Jonestown. The wealthier, mostly white neighborhood of Little Italy remains socially and economically strong, despite complaints of displaced crime.

There has been very little economic activity in these neighborhoods that differs from past trends or that can be attributed to this HOPE VI intervention. One possible exception is the

1840s Museum and adjacent property, which one interviewee suggested would not have been purchased without the demolition of Flag House Courts.

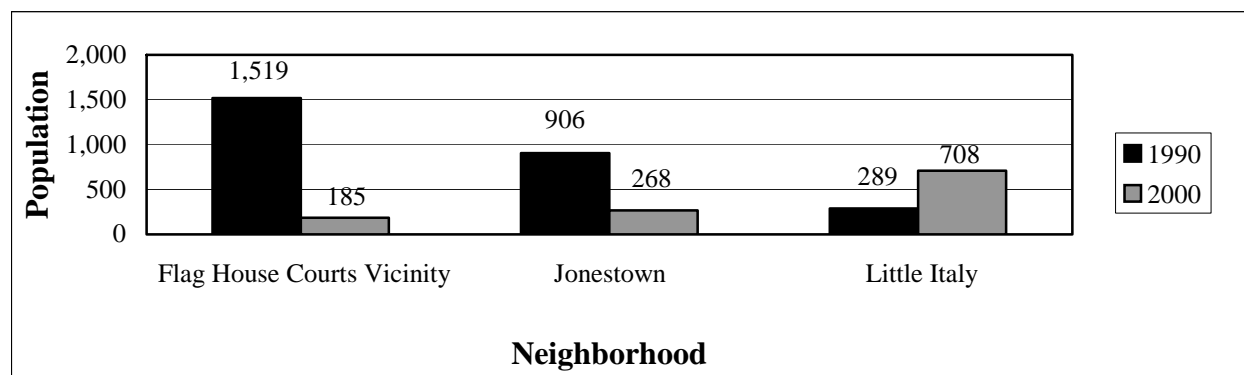
One hopeful finding is the history of positive interaction between the residents of Flag House Courts and the Jonestown and Little Italy neighborhoods. In the mid-1980s, however, tensions developed between residents of Flag House Courts and those of the surrounding neighborhoods, ostensibly because of increased crime and drug activity. This was also the period when national housing policy changed, giving preference to the extremely poor and homeless. As the situation worsened, the Jonestown Planning Council became involved in neighborhood improvement, and was actively involved in the HOPE VI planning efforts. However, following demolition, the Little Italy Community Organization filed a lawsuit against the HOPE VI redevelopment in an attempt to halt construction. Efforts may be necessary to mediate this conflict and forge greater cooperation between the groups. HABC was still working to finalize the project throughout the course of this study. Because HOPE VI requires a mixed-income tenant population, residents of the new Flag House Courts may more closely resemble the residents who lived there in the 1970s. This change in the socioeconomic status and family profile of the development could rekindle of the positive historical relationships with Jonestown and Little Italy.

Neighborhood Analysis: Transition Effects

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

As shown in Figure 8.5, Flag House Vicinity lost nearly its entire population as a result of the demolition of Flag House Courts. Jonestown's population also declined dramatically,

Figure 8.5
Population Trends:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown and Little Italy, 1990-2000



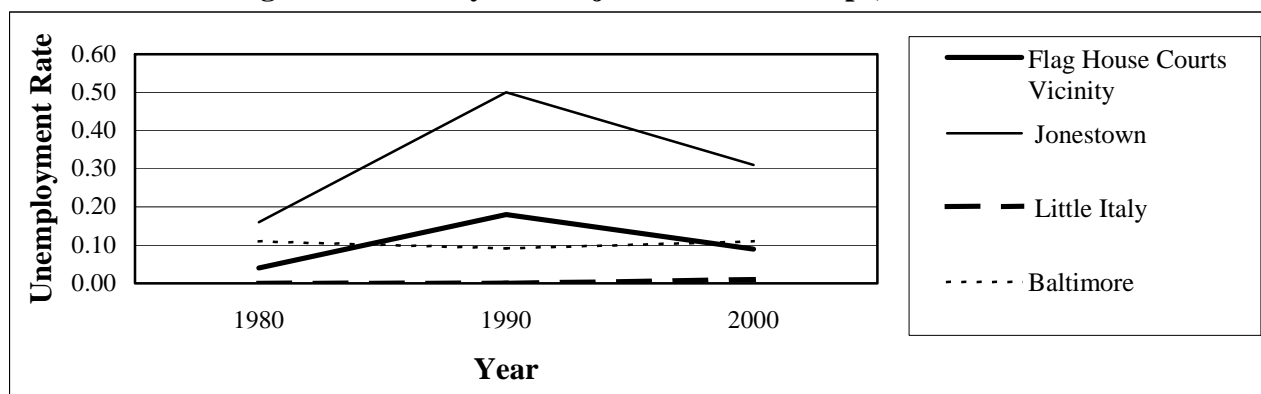
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1990; 2000).

suggesting that it was not the major destination of households displaced by the implosion of Flag House Courts. By contrast, Little Italy's population more than doubled over the decade. It is unclear whether the demolition of Flag House Courts contributed to the declining population of Jonestown or to the growing population of Little Italy. Not surprisingly, the composition of the population loss in Flag House Vicinity is consistent with a very disadvantaged population of

minorities, female-headed households with at least one child, with low incomes and a high rate of unemployment. The transition, then, was largely positive.

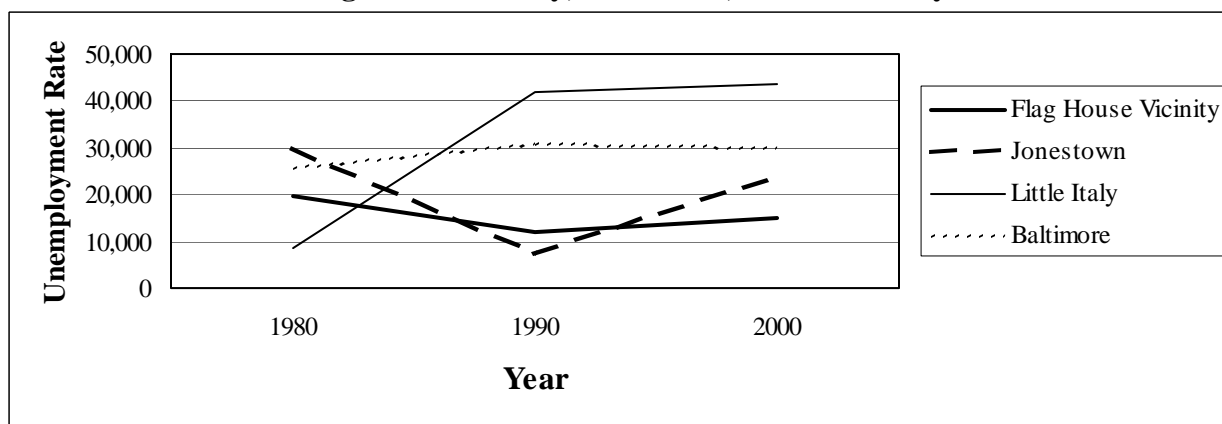
Figure 8.6, for example, shows that median income increased in both Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown during the 1990s, while Figure 8.7 shows the sharp decline in unemployment rates in the two neighborhoods. More detailed information is shown in Appendix Table 8.2. This positive transition effect on the composition of Jonestown's population is, again, consistent with the earlier data revealing that Jonestown was not the destination of relocated households from Flag House Courts. The population composition of Little Italy, by contrast, appears to have been unaffected by the Flag House Courts HOPE VI intervention, with its trends paralleling those of Baltimore. As shown in Appendix Table 8.3, the population composition of Little Italy appears to have been unaffected by the Flag House Courts HOPE VI intervention, with its trends paralleling those of Baltimore. Whether the redevelopment of Flag House Courts had any effect on the growth of Little Italy remains an open question.³

Figure 8.6
Unemployment Rate:
Flag House Vicinity and Adjacent Block Groups, 1980-2000



Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Figure 8.7
Median Household Income:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy



Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Physical Environment

A synopsis of physical environment measures we examined is shown in Figure 8.8.

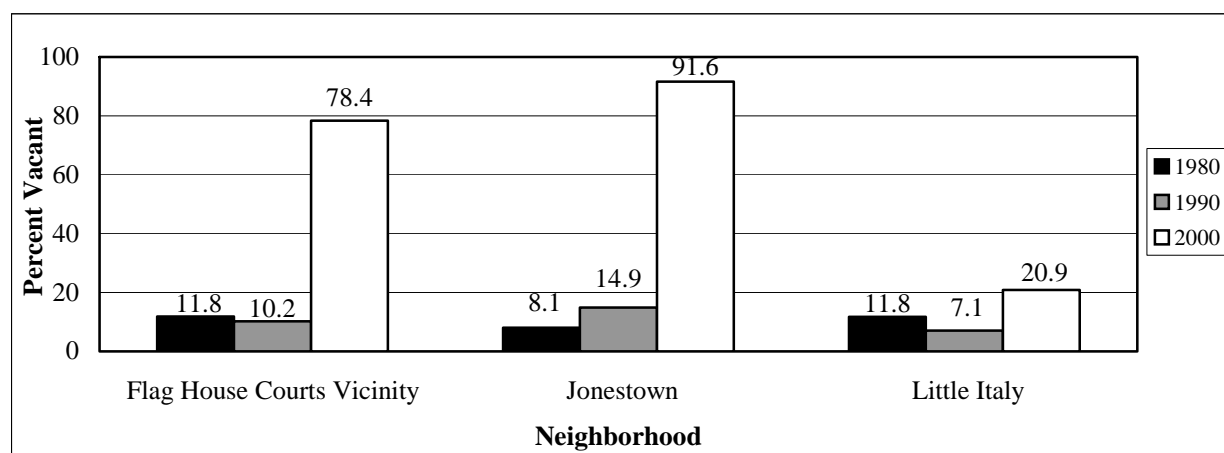
Figure 8.8
Synopsis of Physical Environment Measures:
Flag House Courts Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy

Measure	Source	Date
Vacant houses	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Trash; beautification efforts; graffiti; streets and sidewalks	On-site observations	October, 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as abandoned housing, sanitation calls, and per block averages for street furniture, police activity, and commercial centers, did not follow a consistent pattern.

The dramatic increase in vacant housing units in Flag House Vicinity between 1990 and 2000, shown in Figure 8.9, occurred because Flag House Courts was vacated in 2000 and demolished a year later. The even greater increase in vacant units in Jonestown is presumably correlated with the sharp decline in its population beginning in 1980 and continuing through the 1990s, dropping from 906 residents in 1990 to 268 residents in 2000, as shown earlier in Figure 8.5.

Figure 8.9
Percent of Vacant Housing:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1990-2000



Sources: Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

In 2000, 92 percent of housing was vacant in Jonestown, including the one third units in the Flag House Courts development that were a part of this block group. The 20 percent vacancy rate in the Little Italy block group can be attributed to the inclusion of Central Avenue on the eastern border, which has many dilapidated and vacant buildings among its several warehouses and empty lots.

Thus, the number of vacant and abandoned houses in Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown are not useful indicators of the physical environment because they are a direct result of the emptying out of Flag House Courts. More telling are our on-site observations of the block

conditions, summarized in Table 8.1. These observations reveal that Little Italy is a pristine and well-kept neighborhood, while Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown show signs of blight and decay.

Table 8.1
Current Quality of Physical Environment:
Flag House Vicinity Jonestown, and Little Italy

Measure	Flag House Vicinity	Jonestown	Little Italy
Blocks observed	12	11	18
Trash	2.3	2.3	1.7
Beautification efforts	3.1	3.1	4.0
Graffiti	2.0	2.1	1.2
Streets and sidewalks	3.2	3.0	4.0

Source: On-site observations (2002).

Note: 1=low level and 5=high level.

Little Italy, south of Pratt Street, was very clean with almost no street trash or graffiti, and with an abundance of benches and evidence of beautification efforts, such as flowers and trees. By contrast, the Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown neighborhoods both exhibited excess street trash and graffiti, poorly maintained sidewalks, and few trees or other neighborhood beautification efforts. The transition effects of HOPE VI on the Flag House Courts and Jonestown neighborhoods, therefore, have either been neutral, as some conditions have not improved, or negative, because other conditions have worsened. Interviews with three former residents suggest that the demolition of Flag House Courts removed the few trees and shrubs that formerly existed in Flag House Vicinity.

Crime

A synopsis of crime measures examined is shown in Figure 8.10.

Figure 8.10
Synopsis of Crime Measures:
Flag House Vicinity and Adjacent Neighborhoods

Measure	Source	Date
Number of violent crimes	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1990; 1998
Number of auto thefts	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1990; 1998; 2000; 2001
Number of juvenile arrests	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1996-1999
Number of property burglaries	Baltimore City Police Department Criminal Offenses Data	1998-2001
Interviews	10 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts; 13 business owners; 11 residents	October- November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as robberies and assaults, did not follow a consistent pattern.

Most crime, especially violent crime, decreased between 1998 and 2001 in Flag House Vicinity, Little Italy, and Jonestown, corresponding with the vacating of Flag House Courts. But, some crime increased or remained the same during this period. Interviews with three business owners indicate that the increase in crime may have occurred because criminals lived in the large, vacant high-rises and their maze of empty apartments and corridors.

Crime data are available only for the entire census tract--not its component block groups--for the period 1998 to 2001, before the demolition. These data illustrate that as people moved out of Flag House Vicinity, burglaries increased and auto thefts remained stable. While violent crimes declined substantially in the tract encompassing the three study neighborhoods during the 1990s, as shown in Table 8.2, it is difficult to determine with confidence whether the decline is attributed to the movement of residents out of Flag House Courts, a process that began in 1999 and was completed by 2001. However, based on nine resident interviews, two indigenous expert interviews, two business owner interviews, residents had begun to move out of the public housing units as early as 1996 to escape the culture of drugs and violence. (See Appendix Table 8.4 for more detailed data on crime.)

Table 8.2
Crime:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and
Little Italy (combined) and Baltimore, 1990-2001

Crime	Flag House/ Jonestown/ Little Italy	Baltimore
Number of violent crimes, 1998	72	14,421
Number of violent crimes, 1990	144	16,174
Number of violent crimes per 100, 1998	3.05	2.2
Number of violent crimes per 100, 1990	5.31	2.2
Number of auto thefts, 2001	31	7,622
Number of auto thefts, 1990	32	8,380
Number of auto thefts per 100, 2001 ¹	2.67	1.2
Number of auto thefts per 100, 1990	1.18	1.2
Number of property burglaries, 2001	67	10,041
Number of property burglaries, 1998	43	13,939
Number of property burglaries per 100, 2001 ¹	5.77	1.2
Number of property burglaries per 100, 1998	1.82	2.1
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1999	55	9,141
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1996	47	10,488
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), per 100, 1999 ¹	4.74	1.4
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), per 100, 1996	1.92	1.6

Sources: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Note: 1. 2000 population numbers used for the demoninators in the "rate per 100" calculations for 1999 and 2001. All other rates for intercensal years are based on population estimates.

Interviews with three business owners and reports in various newspaper articles indicate that the increase in crime could result from criminals taking advantage of the mostly vacant high-rises, which may have increased the perception of crime in the surrounding neighborhoods of Little Italy and Jonestown. For example, a June, 2000 article in *The Baltimore Sun* detailed how the few remaining families in Flag House Courts were confronted by criminals who moved into vacant units (Streeter 2000). This interpretation is consistent with the increase in various types of crime in the tract, including auto theft and burglary. Most of the five indigenous experts, 13 business owners, and 11 residents interviewed from Jonestown and Little Italy said they felt safer after the Flag House Courts destruction, though many highlighted increased rates of car vandalism.

School Quality

A synopsis of school quality measures we examined is shown in Figure 8.11.

Figure 8.11
Synopsis of School Quality Measures:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy

Measure	Source	Date
MSPAP Scores	Maryland State Department of Education Maryland School Performance Report	1993-2001
Interviews	2 business owners; 2 residents; 1 indigenous expert	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures, such as CTBS scores, attendance rates, event dropout rates, and percent of students receiving free and reduced meals, did not follow a consistent pattern.

The effect of the Flag House Courts HOPE VI intervention on neighborhood school quality is almost impossible to determine. There are no schools in any of the three neighborhoods that we studied. The nearby schools, such as City Springs Elementary, also received many pupils from other public housing projects such as Lafayette Courts, Douglass Homes, and Broadway Homes. City Springs Elementary also became a charter school during the transition period, which significantly affected school quality data, as shown in Table 8.3 and Appendix Table 8.5.

Table 8.3
School Quality:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1993 and 2001

Measure	City Springs Elementary	Lombard Middle	Baltimore
Percent of 5 th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	60.5	NA	25.30
Percent of 5 th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	2.8	NA	10.70
Percent of 8 th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	8.9	25.30
Percent of 8 th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	1.6	10.70
Maryland State standard	70	70	70

Source: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

Note: NA=Not applicable.

This school lagged behind the citywide average in satisfactory composite MSPAP scores until becoming a charter school in 1996. Anecdotes and newspaper articles reveal a negative perception of City Springs Elementary over the past decade, and concern about the lack of discipline was expressed by two former residents. Nearby Lombard Middle School was rarely mentioned in interviews and newspaper articles. Children from Pleasant View Gardens and Perkins Homes also attended both schools.

According to the HOPE VI application, occupancy in Flag House Courts had declined to 37 percent in 1996 and continued to decline until the demolition in 2001. This decline reduced the number of children in Flag House Courts, thereby affecting nearby school enrollment.

Image

Before the announcement of the HOPE VI intervention and the Flag House Courts demolition, the image of this development was generally negative and focused on high crime rates. After the announcement of HOPE VI, interviews with residents revealed hope for positive change in the neighborhood. A synopsis of measures we examined is shown in Figure 8.12.

Figure 8.12
Synopsis of Image Measures:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy

Measure	Source	Date
Newspaper articles	<i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	1997-2002
Interviews	10 arm's-length experts; 5 indigenous experts; 13 business owners; 11 residents	October-November 2002

Newspaper articles reported on the high crime, low school quality and declining physical environment of Flag House Courts, as shown in Table 8.4. Newspaper articles and more than 14 interviews indicate that the negative public perception of Flag House Courts deterred tourists and customers from visiting the area. After the announcement that Flag House Courts would be reconstructed, newspaper articles were more positive about the neighborhood's future.

Table 8.4
Newspaper Articles about
Flag House Courts, 1995-2000

Year	Positive	Negative
1995	2	10
1996	2	15
1997	6	4
1998	8	6
1999	4	1
2000	5	4
2001	5	0
2002	4	0

Source: The Baltimore Sun (1995-2002).

All interviews with business owners (13 of 13) and most residents (9 out of 11) conveyed positive feelings about the neighborhood's prospects, emphasizing that the demolition of Flag House Courts had positively affected the surrounding neighborhoods. While only three business owners knew specific details about the HOPE VI intervention, all 13 knew of the general plan. All but one of the 11 residents were also aware of the HOPE VI intervention. The general consensus of opinion among business owners and residents was that any future development could only improve the neighborhood. Little Italy residents (three out of three) and business owners (six out of eight) did not foresee a strong effect of the housing development on their neighborhood, while those in Jonestown (four out of five) predicted stronger residential and commercial growth.

Neighborhood Analysis: Announcement Effects

Economic Activity

Economic activity in the Flag House Vicinity, Little Italy, and Jonestown neighborhoods was mostly consistent with past trends and cannot be attributed to the announcement of the HOPE VI intervention. Little Italy is still the most economically strong neighborhood in the area though there is some isolated activity in parts of Jonestown. At best, Little Italy's robustness was not weakened--and may have been strengthened--by impending redevelopment, while Jonestown and Flag House Vicinity have remained virtually unchanged up to this point in time. A synopsis of economic activity measures we examined is shown in Figure 8.13.

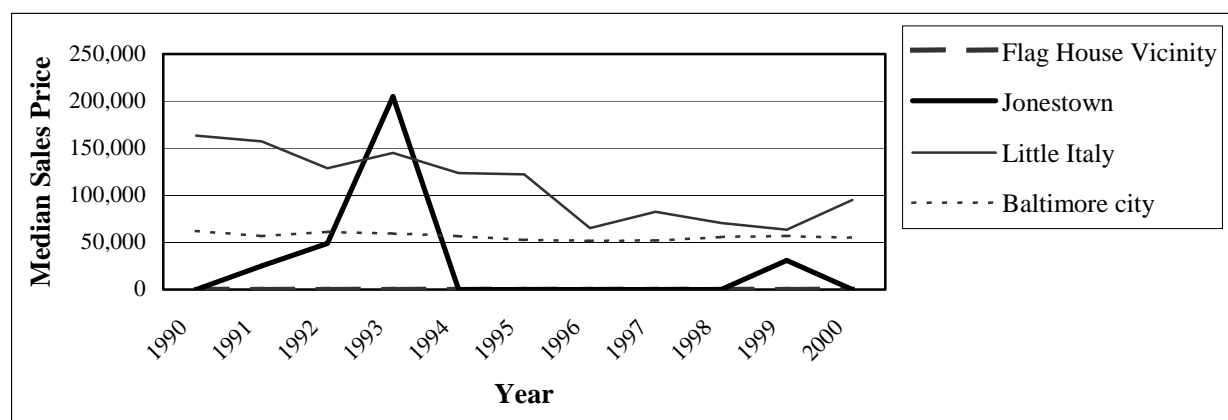
Figure 8.13
Synopsis of Economic Activity Measures:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy

Measure	Source	Date
Homeownership rates	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Construction and renovation permits	Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development	August 1994; August 1999-July 2000; 2001
Median sales price	Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services	2000; 2001; 2002
Owner-assessed value of home unit	Census data	1980; 1990; 2000
Investment	Interviews <i>The Baltimore Sun</i>	October-November 2002 1997-2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as home loans and appraised values, did not follow a consistent pattern.

The strongest suggestion that the HOPE VI announcement had a positive spillover on Little Italy is shown in Figure 8.14 and Appendix Table 8.6. Figure 8.14 reveals an up tick in

Figure 8.14
Median Sales Prices:
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1990-2000

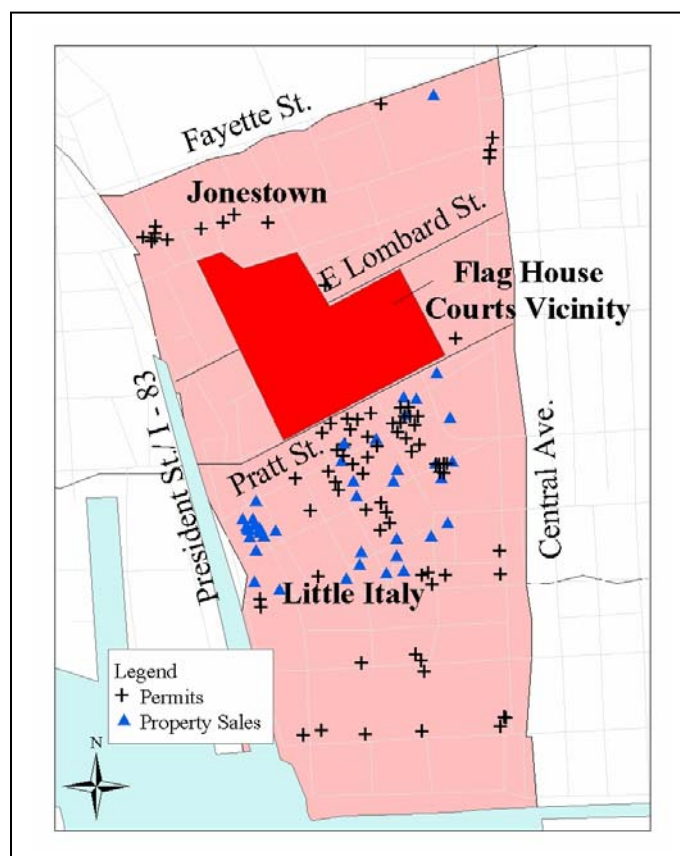


Source: Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services (2000).

median residential sales prices in Little Italy in 2000, two years after the Flag House Courts HOPE VI was announced, and one year prior to demolition.

From July 1990 to August 2000, there were more building permits issued in Little Italy than in Jonestown or Flag House Vicinity. Figure 8.15 shows the location of residential sales and building permits issued from 1998 to July 2000, after the announcement of the Flag House Courts HOPE VI revitalization. Activity is heavily concentrated in Little Italy, with some modest activity in Jonestown, and virtually none in Flag House Courts vicinity. If a positive announcement effect of the Flag House Courts HOPE VI revitalization had spilled over into Little Italy, property sales activity should have increased, not decreased. Even more dramatically, only one property was sold in Jonestown and none in Flag House Vicinity between 1998 and 2000.

Figure 8.15
Residential Sales and Construction Permits:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1998-July 2000



Sources: Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002c); Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services (2000).

However, construction and renovation permits in Little Italy, shown in Table 8.5 and Appendix Table 8.7, showed a less consistent pattern, dipping down in 1999-2000, but rebounding in 2001. The increased activity in Jonestown and Flag House Vicinity did not occur until 2001, and the contribution of HOPE VI is unclear.

Table 8.5
Construction and Renovation Permits:
 Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1994-2001

Measure	Jonestown	Flag House Courts Vicinity	Little Italy	Baltimore
Construction and renovation permits				
Number of construction and renovation permits, 2001	18	2	33	1,126
Number of construction and renovation permits, August 1999-July 2000	7	0	22	469
Number of construction and renovation permits, 1994	6	0	29	1,045

Sources: Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002c).

Interviews suggest that the renovation and construction activity in Little Italy is consistent with the pattern of economic growth in the neighborhood and should not be attributed to the HOPE VI intervention. Six interviewees with business owners and residents in Little Italy did not believe that changes in Flag House Courts have affected businesses in their neighborhood. The new Antwerpen Volkswagen dealership, at the corner of Pratt and President Streets, is not included in the construction permit data for Little Italy. In both an interview we conducted with the manager and an article in the *The Baltimore Sun*, Antwerpen Volkswagen indicated that the revitalization of Flag House Courts did not affect their decision to open a business in the area (Calvert 2002).

As shown in Figure 8.15, the construction and renovation permits in Jonestown are all located along the outlying portions of the neighborhood, relatively far from the Flag House Courts development. Interviews with five business owners and indigenous experts suggested that these permits were generally used to renovate existing businesses that serve commercial customers primarily from downtown, not to construct new businesses. However, the two permits issued in the Flag House Vicinity may have been influenced by the HOPE VI revitalization because they are near Flag House Courts.

For the most part, then, the picture is mixed, at best, as to whether the announcement of the HOPE VI revitalization affected economic activity in the Jonestown, Flag House Vicinity, or Little Italy. One exception is the trend in median residential sales prices in Little Italy starting in 2000. The second exception is the forthcoming 1840s Museum, whose Jonestown location, one interviewee suggested, was chosen because of the demolition of the Flag House Courts development. Other development planned for the property includes a bed and breakfast and some retail space.

Social Environment

During the 1970s and early 1980s, there was positive social interaction between Flag House Courts residents and residents and business owners in Little Italy and Jonestown. This interaction ended, however, in the mid-1980s, as a change in national housing policy altered the

tenant profile in Flag House Courts. The new residents were poorer and included more single persons and fewer families. If the residents of the new Flag House Courts are similar to the residents of Flag House Courts in the 1970s and early 1980s, then, perhaps, there is a possibility for renewed social interaction. A synopsis of social environment measures we examined is shown in Figure 8.16.

Figure 8.16
Synopsis of Social Environment Measures:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy

Measure	Source	Date
Community Organizations	Baltimore City Data Collaborative	November 2002
Neighborhood Activity	On-site observations	October 2002
Interviews	13 arm's-length experts; 4 indigenous experts; 12 business owners; 10 residents	October-November 2002

Note: Other measures observed, such as public transportation routes and residential tenure, did not follow a consistent pattern.

Neighborhood Interaction

Interviews with former Flag House Courts residents indicate that the 1970s and early 1980s were the best times for residents of Flag House Courts. During this period, Flag House Courts residents participated in a softball league with residents and shopkeepers of Little Italy and Jonestown. The residents of Flag House Courts also had a very good relationship with the store vendors in Jonestown, especially along Corned Beef Row on Lombard Street.

Interviewees in neighborhoods surrounding Flag House Courts reported low levels of trust and social interaction with the residents of Flag House Courts after the 1980s. This is especially true for residents and business owners in Little Italy. Residents of Flag House Courts mostly patronized businesses in Jonestown near Perkins Homes, interacting less with Little Italy.

Social interaction was more common within Flag House Courts, and the Tenant Council occasionally hosted social events. Until the 1980s, residents indicated that they were relatively satisfied and happy, and that they interacted with the surrounding communities. Four former residents indicated that younger renters moved into the development in the mid-1980s and this may have contributed to the decline of the development and the neighborhood. These new renters may have been unable or unwilling to maintain the social network and neighborhood norms built up over previous decades. The mixed-income tenant composition of the redeveloped Flag House Courts means that the new development will more closely resemble that of the 1970s and early 1980s. This may allow the three neighborhoods to interact again.

Community Organizations

As shown in Figure 8.17 and Appendix Table 8.8, there are 10 major community organizations within and around the Flag House Courts vicinity. Three of these serve Jonestown, three serve Little Italy, three serve the Empowerment Zone and the East Harbor area, and one, the Flag House Courts Tenant Council, serves the interests of the former Flag House Courts residents. As a direct effect of the announcement of the destruction of Flag House Courts, the

Tenant Council shifted its focus to helping former residents meet the lease criteria of the new housing development. The Jonestown Planning Council was particularly involved in meetings with the developers and in monitoring the plan for the development. The Council supported the development but, in coordination with the ACLU, lobbied for a greater number of public housing units. The Little Italy Community Organization mounted legal opposition to the plan. This group argued that several aspects of the plan would negatively affect Little Italy, and that the

Figure 8.17
Community Group Synopsis:
Flag House Vicinity, Jonestown, and Little Italy

Organization	Focus	Budget 2001	Number of staff
Little Italy Community Organization (LICO)	Promote community activity	< \$3,000	100
Little Italy Owners-Resident Association (LIORA)	Promote community activity	Has a budget	100
Little Italy Restaurant Association (LIRA)	Promote and coordinate local restaurant activity	< \$5,000	15 member restaurants
Jonestown Planning Council, Inc.	Community improvement	NA	15-20
Flag House Courts Resident Council	Community representation	Has a budget	40+ members; 5 council members
East Harbor Village Center	Social services for Empowerment Zone residents	\$200,000	9
McKim Center	Children's social services	\$342,656	7 full and part time
East Harbor Community Development Corporation	Economic development; Empowerment zone	\$500,000	2

Source: Interviews with six residents, two arm's-length experts, two indigenous experts, and three businesses (2002).

land should be used for retail space. The East Harbor Village Center has a case manager dedicated to the relocated families from Flag House Courts, monitoring their progress and assisting them in preparing to move back into the development if they desire. The East Harbor Community Development Corporation, in conjunction with Homes for America, will be building seven of the 10 affordable housing units in the new Flag House Courts development, thereby fulfilling the HOPE VI requirement of community engagement in the planning process.

Key Findings

Prior to its demolition, Flag House Courts existed as an island of poverty surrounded by economically prosperous neighborhoods to the west, south, and southeast. The major effect of the transition from the old Flag House Courts to the new Flag House Courts has been the emptying out of the poorer neighborhoods of Jonestown and Flag House Vicinity. Before the demolition of Flag House Courts, a community of poor, mostly black, residents lived in the Flag House Vicinity and Jonestown neighborhoods adjacent to the mostly affluent, mostly white residents of Little Italy. Now, the Jonestown and Flag House Vicinity area contains very few people, most of them black, while the Little Italy area has gained residents, most of them white.

The announcement effect of the HOPE VI intervention may have prompted an increase in residential sales prices in Little Italy. It may have had some impact on economic activity in Jonestown, Flag House Vicinity, and Little Italy, but economic activity in these areas were more likely to have been affected by the increasing attractiveness of the Downtown, Inner Harbor, Fells Point and Canton areas. The new businesses in this area (e.g., Antwerpen Volkswagen) seem to be designed to serve the more up-scale surrounding neighborhoods.

Although interaction between the Little Italy, Flag House Vicinity, and Jonestown neighborhoods was limited and occasionally hostile from the 1980s until the demolition of Flag House Courts in 2001, there is a history of positive interaction between the neighborhoods prior to the 1980s. The reason for the decline in interaction appears to be a result of the change in residents of Flag House Courts. In the 1980s, poorer residents began living in public housing, changing the character of these developments. The mixed-income tenants in the redeveloped Flag House Courts could rekindle the positive interaction between the residents of Jonestown, Flag House Vicinity, and Little Italy that existed in the past.

Endnotes

¹The HOPE VI plan totaled \$65,021,000, with the additional \$43,521,000 pledged by Baltimore City, the State of Maryland, and private investors.

²Of the 338 total units in the new development 97 will be located on acquired land adjacent to the original development. A total of 66 parcels of land were incorporated into the development site.

³During the 1990s, Baltimore's population declined by about 12 percent.

Technical Appendix

The Census block groups of the 1990 and 2000 census roughly, but not exactly, mirror the established boundaries of the Jonestown, Flag House Vicinity, and Little Italy neighborhoods. Block group 1 is the Jonestown neighborhood, block group 2 is roughly the Flag House Vicinity neighborhood but also incorporates a small portion of the Little Italy neighborhood, and block group 3 is the Little Italy neighborhood. Because the 1980 block group boundaries were dramatically different from the 1990 and 2000 boundaries, they cannot be used in this analysis. Therefore, we are limited to studying change over the 1990s decade alone. Although the boundaries of block groups 2 and 3 (Flag House Vicinity and Little Italy) also shifted from 1990 to (the southern boundary of the Flag House Vicinity neighborhood/northern boundary of Little Italy shifted north from Fawn Street to Stiles Street), we accounted for this shift in the analysis.

Appendix Figure 8.1
Reasons for Excluding Adjacent Tracts from Analysis

Name	Tract	Reasons that HOPE VI will not affect neighborhood
Downtown	401	Interstate 83/President Street forms barrier to pedestrian traffic flow. Strong, primarily commercial neighborhood.
Scarlet Place/Otterbein	2201	Majority of tract is on the opposite side of the Inner Harbor from Flag House Courts. Remainder of tract consists of 145 luxury condominiums on the west side of President Street.
Fells Point	203	Residential portion is distant from Flag House. Strong, insular neighborhood.

Sources: On-site observations (2002). Interviews with 10 arm's-length experts, five indigenous experts, 13 business owners, and 11 residents (2002).

Appendix Table 8.2
Socioeconomic Characteristics:
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1980-2000

Measure	Flag House Vicinity	Jonestown	Little Italy	Baltimore
Employment				
Unemployment rate, 2000	0.09	0.31	0.01	0.11
Unemployment rate, 1990	0.18	0.50	0.00	0.09
Unemployment rate, 1980	0.04	0.16	0.00	0.05
Income				
Median household income, 2000	14,886	23,750	43,636	30,078
Median household income, 1990	12,130	7,246	41,759	30,747
Median household income, 1980	19,778	30,053	8,613	25,437
Per capita income, 2000	12,912	8,063	44,226	16,978
Per capita income, 1990	16,706	7,510	20,336	14,383
Per capita income, 1980	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Appendix Table 8.3
Demographic Characteristics:
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1980-2000

Measure	Flag House Courts Vicinity	Jonestown	Little Italy	Baltimore
Population				
Total population, 2000	185	268	708	651,154
Total population, 1990	1,519	906	289	736,014
Total population, 1980	654	2,116	80	786,775
Percent change in population, 1990 - 2000	-87.82	-70.42	144.98	-11.53
Percent change in population, 1980 - 1990	132.26	-57.18	261.25	-6.46
Percent change in population, 1980 - 2000	-71.71	-87.33	785	-17.24
Percent black population, 2000	29.19	75.75	4.38	64.34
Percent black population, 1990	66.69	81.13	1.04	59.21
Percent black population, 1980	0.15	89.65	0	54.80
Family Characteristics				
Number of households, 2000	77	16	431	257,788
Number of households, 1990	588	174	144	276,484
Number of households, 1980	276	523	30	281,414
Number of single female households with children, 2000	24	0	7	63,211
Number of single female households with children, 1990	250	115	27	46,163
Number of single female households with children, 1980	0	338	0	37,186
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 2000	36	20	32	161,353
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1990	520	272	28	179,869
Number of children in households (less than 18 yrs.), 1980	82	911	14	211,943

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000).

Appendix Table 8.4
Crime:
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1990-2000

Measure	Flag House/ Jonestown/ Little Italy`	Fells Point	Downtown	Otterbein/ Scarlett Place Condos	Baltimore
Violent Crime					
Number of violent crimes, 1998	72	101	457	75	14,421
Number of violent crimes, 1990	144	96	619	111	16,174
Number of violent crimes per 100, 1998	3.05	4.57	41.62	2.18	2.22
Number of violent crimes per 100, 1990	5.31	4.89	39.50	3.05	2.24
Burglaries					
Number of property burglaries, 2001	67	77	200	76	10,041
Number of property burglaries, 2000	27	80	281	69	10,965
Number of property burglaries, 1999	33	130	196	70	11,846
Number of property burglaries, 1998	43	96	267	82	13,939
Auto Thefts					
Number of auto thefts, 2001	31	57	96	69	7,622
Number of auto thefts, 2000	27	62	139	75	7,986
Number of auto thefts, 1999	33	60	105	42	7,091
Number of auto thefts, 1998	35	64	108	83	7,628
Number of auto thefts, 1990	32	26	165	85	8,380
Number of auto thefts per 100, 2001 ¹	2.67	2.32	5.52	1.70	1.17
Number of auto thefts per 100, 2000	2.33	2.52	7.99	1.85	1.23
Number of auto thefts per 100, 1999 ¹	2.84	2.44	6.04	1.04	1.09
Number of auto thefts per 100, 1998	1.48	2.90	9.84	2.41	1.17
Number of auto thefts per 100, 1990	1.18	1.32	10.53	2.33	1.16
Juvenile Arrests					
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1999	55	3	9	15	9,141
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1998	34	2	17	12	9,862
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1997	33	6	13	11	10,596
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.), 1996	47	2	11	8	10,488
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.) per 100, 1999 ¹	4.74	0.12	0.52	0.37	1.40
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.) per 100, 1998	1.44	0.09	1.55	0.35	1.52
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.) per 100, 1997	1.39	0.27	1.11	0.32	1.61
Juvenile arrests (less than 18 yrs.) per 100, 1996	1.92	0.09	0.89	0.23	1.56

Sources: Baltimore City Police Department (2000; 2002); Baltimore City Police Department Juvenile Detention Unit (2001).

Note: 1. 2000 population numbers were used to calculate 1999 and 2001 crime rates.

Appendix Table 8.5
School Quality:
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1993-2000

Measure	City Springs Elementary	Lombard Middle	Gen. Wolfe Elementary	Dunbar Middle	Dunbar High	Baltimore
Students receiving free and reduced meals						
Percent elementary students, 2001	94.20	NA	87.00	NA	NA	76.20
Percent elementary students, 1993	93.30	NA	86.20	NA	NA	67.70
Percent middle school students, 2001	NA	84.00	NA	92.50	NA	76.30
Percent middle school students, 1993	NA	88.60	NA	88.40	NA	67.70
Percent high school students, 2001	NA	NA	NA	NA	41.40	47.50
Percent high school students, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	47.00	67.70
MSPAP composite scores						
Percent 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	60.50	NA	16.10	NA	NA	25.30
Percent 5th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	2.80	NA	12.70	NA	NA	10.70
Percent 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 2001	NA	8.90	NA	17.30	NA	19.00
Percent 8th grade scoring satisfactory, 1993	NA	1.60	NA	4.10	NA	8.70
Attendance rates		NA		NA	NA	
Elementary school, 2002	96.60	NA	94.40	NA	NA	94.00
Elementary school, 1993	91.00	NA	93.30	NA	NA	93.00
Event dropout rate per year¹						
High school, 2002	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.33	10.32
High school, 1994	NA	NA	NA	NA	1.55	15.19
High school, 1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	6.52	18.53

Sources: Maryland State Department of Education (2002).

Note: 1. Event dropout rates reflect the percentage of students who drop out in a single year without completing high school.

NA=not applicable

Appendix Table 8.6
Median Sales Price (2000\$):
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1990-2000

	Jonestown		Flag House Vicinity		Little Italy		Baltimore	
Year	Median Value \$	Number of Units	Median Value \$	Number of Units	Median Value \$	Number of Units	Median Value \$	Number of Units
2000	0.00	0	0.00	0	95,000.00	13	55,000.00	7,309
1999	30,962.96	1	0.00	0	63,474.07	14	56,765.43	12,410
1998	0.00	0	0.00	0	70,499.69	14	55,663.18	10,523
1997	0.00	0	0.00	0	82,587.64	26	52,110.13	10,238
1996	0.00	0	0.00	0	65,312.50	15	51,705.73	9,737
1995	0.00	0	0.00	0	122,314.09	17	52,628.72	8,511
1994	0.00	0	0.00	0	123,637.87	21	56,619.21	9,198
1993	204,843.75	1	0.00	0	144,875.00	25	59,375.00	7,874
1992	48,996.34	1	0.00	0	128,615.38	23	61,245.42	7,888
1991	25,161.78	1	0.00	0	157,261.10	17	56,614.00	8,820
1990	0.00	0	0.00	0	163,408.91	23	62,095.39	9,780

Source: Baltimore City Bureau of Information Technology Services (2000).

Appendix Table 8.7
Economic Activity:
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 1994-2000

Measure	Flag House Vicinity	Jonestown	Little Italy	Baltimore
Construction and renovation permits				
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 1994	NA	6	29	NA
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, August 1999 - July 2000	NA	7	22	NA
Number of construction and renovation permits issued, 2001	2	18	33	NA
Homeownership				
Homeownership rate, 2000	0.56	0.19	0.43	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1990	0.32	0.09	0.53	0.43
Homeownership rate, 1980	0.61	0.03	0.67	0.44
Number of homeowners, 2000	43	3	184	116,580
Number of homeowners, 1990	188	3	77	134,424
Number of homeowners, 1980	167	16	20	132,735

Sources: Geolytics (2000); Wessex (1993); U. S. Bureau of the Census (2000). Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development (2001; 2002c).

Note: NA=note applicable.

Appendix Table 8.8
Social Environment
Community-Based Organizations:
Flag House Courts, Jonestown, and Little Italy, 2002

Organization	Focus	Budget 2001	Number of Staff	Leader	Affected by HOPE VI
Little Italy Community Organization (LICO)	Promote community activity	Less than \$3,000	100	Roberto Marsili	Yes
Little Italy Owners-Residents Association (LIORA)	Promote community activity	Has a budget	100	Elaine Kennedy	Yes
East Baltimore Community Corp., Inc.	Regional social services	Uncertain	Uncertain	Dr. Marie Washington	Uncertain
Little Italy Restaurant Association (LIRA)	Promote and coordinate local restaurant activity	Less than \$5,000	15 restaurants	Mary Ann Cracchio	Uncertain
Jonestown Planning Council, Inc.	Community improvement	NA	15-20	Father Richard T. Lawrence	Yes
Historic Jonestown Business Association		Uncertain		Elaine Kennedy	Uncertain
Flag House Courts Resident Council	Community representation	Has a budget	40+ members; 5 council members	Dorothy G. Scott	Yes
East Harbor Village Center	Social services for empowerment zone residents	\$200,000	9	Clara Butler	Yes
McKim Center	Children's social services	\$342,656	7 full time + part time/ volunteers	Dwight Warren	Yes
East Harbor Community Development Corporation	Economic development; Empowerment zone	\$500,000	2	Talib Horn	Yes

Source: Interviews with six resident, two arm's-length experts, two indigenous experts, and three businesses (2002).

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Executive Summary

In this project, we set out to determine what, if any, positive spillover effects Baltimore's HOPE VI redevelopments are having on their immediate and adjacent neighborhoods. Theories on mixed-income housing, homeownership, and New Urbanism suggest that these qualities may have beneficial effects not only on the areas where they are present but on neighboring areas as well. Overall, however, we found few positive spillover effects. This was not surprising for the sites where building is still in progress, but it was at least a bit surprising in the sites that have been in operation for three or four years. We also found that the transition period between demolition and redevelopment can be difficult for the HOPE VI and surrounding neighborhoods.

Although it is difficult to tease out what neighborhood changes can be attributed to HOPE VI developments and not other economic and social forces, our findings suggest five major factors that affect a development's chances of positive neighborhood effects. These factors are: (1) the "footprint" of a development--that is, how far it extends into its surrounding area; (2) location; (3) supportive services; (4) the presence and involvement of institutional players; and (5) resident and community involvement in HOPE VI planning and implementation.

These findings are the basis for the following recommendations. Heritage Crossing could benefit from the adherence to its original plan to develop scattered-site homeownership units in adjacent neighborhoods. A major institutional partner could also improve its potential for positive spillover. While Flag House Courts and Broadway Overlook appear to be poised for success, there is still a clear need to adhere to the plan, engage the community, and employ an effective management company to ensure that the strengths of the development are sustained once it is occupied.

Not surprisingly, the health of the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods surrounding the HOPE VI properties appear to contribute significantly to beneficial neighborhood effects. These starting conditions are a given and are not manipulable, although unusual opportunities, such as the land swap for the Broadway Homes site, should never be overlooked. Ongoing monitoring of adherence to plan could prevent or reduce negative effects later on. As Broadway Overlook illustrates, the presence of diverse private investors can improve the likelihood of beneficial effects.

Pleasant View Gardens and The Terraces

The findings for each of the seven indicators of neighborhood spillovers for the two completed sites, Pleasant View Gardens and The Townes of the Terraces, are shown in the Figure 9.1. The pluses and minuses indicate concrete findings, while the blanks denote the absence of evidence of spillover, either positive or negative. Overall, we found few positive spillover effects. This was not surprising for the sites where building is still in progress, but it was at least a bit surprising in the sites that have been in operation for three or four years.

Figure 9.1
Spillover Effects in Completed HOPE VI Sites

Measure	Pleasant View Gardens	The Townes at the Terraces
Demographic and socioeconomic	+/-	+/-
Physical environment	+	+
Social environment	+/-	-
Economic activity	+/-	+
Crime	+/-	-
School effects	-	-
Image	+	+

In the completed sites, the data showed that declining population led to school closures near both The Terraces and Pleasant View Gardens, and crime increased in neighborhoods adjacent to both developments. On the other hand, the physical conditions of the public housing developments clearly improved, although the improved conditions did not often extend beyond the HOPE VI borders. The redevelopments also encouraged economic activity in adjacent neighborhoods, and improved neighborhood image.

Heritage Crossing, Flag House Courts and Broadway Overlook

Figure 9.2 summarizes the findings for the three sites still under development. We found little evidence of announcement effects--that is, increased economic investment or community organization activity in anticipation of the new development. What we did find was that the transition period can be difficult for the immediate neighborhoods. The Heritage Crossing area saw a decline in population much larger than could be explained by the displacement of Murphy Homes residents. On the other hand, the removal of the high-rises has improved the physical environment of the immediate HOPE VI neighborhood. The redevelopment of Broadway Overlook has also promoted interaction between tenant councils from the original Broadway Homes and the adjacent Washington Hill neighborhood.

Figure 9.2
Spillover Effects in Uncompleted HOPE VI Sites

Measure	Heritage Crossing	Broadway Overlook	Flag House Courts
Demographic/Socioeconomic	-	+	
Physical Environment			
Social Environment		+	
Economic Activity			+/-
Crime	+/-	+	
School Effects			
Image	+/-		+

Note: The blank boxes represent indicators that showed no sign of spillover, either positive or negative.

Review of Spillover Findings

The following discussion reviews these findings in somewhat greater detail, and is organized by the seven key indicators examined in the five HOPE VI sites.

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

For the most part, the changes in the HOPE VI population and the relocation of former residents explained most major demographic changes in the HOPE VI neighborhood and neighborhoods adjacent to the sites. The one exception was the large population drop in the Heritage Crossing area. Effects on socioeconomic conditions were mixed. Unemployment rates outpaced Baltimore in some adjacent neighborhoods, while in some it declined. This mixed picture also applied to rates of female-headed households with children.

Physical Environment

The completed HOPE VI sites and their immediate encompassing neighborhoods were in good physical condition. On-site observation ratings indicated that the redevelopments had less trash and graffiti; better maintained streets, sidewalks, parks, and playgrounds; and more beautification efforts compared to the adjacent neighborhoods. But, the spillover was limited to the immediate neighborhood, while physical conditions quickly declined beyond these geographic boundaries.

Social Environment

Community-based organizations appeared to be most active and involved when they were protecting their assets. For example, Washington Hill homeowners, who have a clear stake in Broadway Overlook's future, have been very involved in its planning. By contrast, Ashland Mews homeowners, who are geographically removed from Pleasant View Gardens, were not as involved during planning. We also found that after redevelopment, services such as cabs and pizza delivery became much more available.

Economic Activity

Economic activity increased in adjacent neighborhoods, but only with the assistance of institutional partners. The improved image of Pleasant View Gardens helped to attract a developer to build a supermarket along the Oldtown Mall and to spur investment along the Fayette Street corridor. However, it is unlikely that this economic activity would have occurred without support from JHMI and the city. We also observed significant costs of the transition period between demolition and redevelopment, such as the reduced customer base for small businesses. Effects on sales prices of residential property, our proxy for property value, was mixed. For example, property values increased in neighborhoods adjacent to The Terraces and in the northern portion of the Washington Hill neighborhood near Broadway Homes. However, they declined dramatically in the neighborhoods adjacent to Heritage Crossing.

Crime

It is clear that HOPE VI sites are no longer the centers of crime they once were, which can be attributed to a deconcentration of poverty and heightened resident screening. But this solution has come at the cost of displacing crime into adjacent neighborhoods. This is partly due to the displacement of trouble-prone residents but also due to displacement of the crime itself. Drug activity and other crime that once took place in the old high-rises has simply been forced away from the HOPE VI sites into nearby areas.

Schools

The proportion of children from HOPE VI sites attending nearby schools was too small to affect school quality. However, the transition period between demolition and rebuilding hurt schools by reducing their student bodies and led to two closures near The Terraces and Pleasant View Gardens.

Image

Image was clearly a plus. Our review of articles from *The Baltimore Sun* indicated that negative coverage for all of the sites dramatically decreased with the demolition and rebuilding, presumably leading to enhanced public perception of the immediate areas. The improved image of the HOPE VI sites, however, did not seem to extend to improved public perception of adjacent neighborhoods.

Correlates of Positive Spillovers

Although it is difficult to tease out what neighborhood changes can be attributed to HOPE VI developments and what changes should be attributed to other economic and social forces, our findings suggest five major factors that appear to be associated with positive neighborhood spillover effects. The factors are: (1) the footprint of the development--that is, how far it extends into its surrounding area; (2) its location, particularly its proximity to stable neighborhoods; (3) supportive services at the HOPE VI redevelopment; (4) the presence and involvement of institutional players; and (5) interaction between residents and neighbors.

Footprint

A development that extends further into its neighborhood appears to have a greater chance of integration with, and effect on, the neighborhood. Heritage Crossing, for example, is a small and circumscribed development. Its situation is further complicated by the fact that it is surrounded by a large area of severe distress. Broadway Overlook and Pleasant View Gardens are located within three blocks of each other. Their large, combined area helps prevent them from being overshadowed by nearby distressed areas.

Supportive Services

The availability of supportive services in the developments is another factor associated with beneficial effects. Pleasant View Gardens offers a wide range of social services--including

drug treatment, employment services, day care, and a health center--most of which can be used by both HOPE VI residents and residents from adjacent neighborhoods. These services improve quality of life. Additionally, by assisting residents to achieve economic self-sufficiency, they increase the likelihood of interaction with the higher income residents of the redeveloped site, thereby raising the prospects of positive spillovers, as suggested by Brophy and Smith (1997).

Location

One of the clearest patterns emerging from this study is that whether a development is situated near a stable or distressed neighborhood affects its likelihood of positive effects. There is a stark contrast, for example, between Heritage Crossing, which is surrounded by distressed neighborhoods, and Broadway Overlook, which is located near the very stable Washington Hill neighborhood. The neighborhoods surrounding Heritage Crossing have showed no signs of improvement as a result of the Heritage Crossing redevelopment and, in fact, there is concern that this island of revitalization may be harmed by the surrounding sea of distress. Nearly the opposite is the case at Broadway Overlook, where the strength of the adjacent neighborhood seems likely to contribute to Broadway Overlook's success. Pleasant View Gardens also seems to have benefited from its proximity to the healthy homeownership area in Ashland Mews. That the Flag House site lies near Little Italy, a socially and economically sound area, bodes well for its future well-being.

Institutional Players

A strong institutional partner was associated with the positive effects at some of the HOPE VI sites. Pleasant View Gardens and the new Broadway Overlook gain from their proximity to JHMI and its resources, its employment opportunities, and its stability. JHMI also attracts commercial and other development to the area, which then benefits the surrounding neighborhoods. Although JHMI was directly involved in the development along Fayette Street, Pleasant View and the new Broadway Overlook are improved because of it--in essence, a spillover effect of JHMI on HOPE VI. Likewise, the University of Maryland plays a major role on the west side. Our findings suggest that its decision to expand across Martin Luther King Boulevard, which appears to have been influenced by The Terraces redevelopment, should have a significant impact on The Terraces.

Community Involvement

The evidence suggests that the HOPE VI developments benefit from the involvement of neighborhood-based organizations. The interaction among the Broadway Homes Tenant Council, the Washington Hill Neighborhood Association, and the HABC helped secure better conditions and resources for the future residents of Broadway Overlook. By contrast, the Heritage Crossing Tenant Council has not been as continuously or closely involved in the HOPE VI process. Such involvement has led to significant investments in other sites, notably the \$500,000 from JHMI for youth programming, employment training, and other services for residents of Broadway Overlook.

Residents of Flag House Courts enjoyed relatively good relations with their middle-class neighbors in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as manifested, for example, in a joint softball league. Changes in housing policy during the Reagan Administration altered the tenant composition of public housing, including Flag House Courts, with an even greater share of units occupied by the very poor. This demographic change harmed the ties between the two communities. That such interaction existed in the first place suggests that it may be possible for the newly mixed-income Flag House Courts to recapture its positive interaction with its neighbors in the future.

As Figure 9.3 indicates, Pleasant View Gardens and The Townes at the Terraces have incorporated a majority of these “success factors.” Therefore, in addition to being successful developments themselves, they are poised to have positive spillovers on both the immediate and adjacent neighborhoods.

Figure 9.3
Success Factors in Completed HOPE VI Sites

HOPE VI Site	Pleasant View Gardens	The Townes at the Terraces
Footprint	X	X
Location	X	X
Supportive services	X	
Community involvement		
Institutional players		X
Total	3/5	3/5

These factors are also present, but to varying degrees, in the three sites still in development, as shown in Figure 9.4. Heritage Crossing, which does not exhibit any of these characteristics, could extend its footprint if the originally planned scattered-site homeownership units were built in the surrounding neighborhood. If its footprint is not extended, then this HOPE VI would benefit from efforts to insulate it from the distressed neighborhoods that surround it. Broadway Overlook should benefit from the presence of all four factors. A priority for Flag House Courts may be to build relationships among tenants and neighbors in Little Italy.

Figure 9.4
Success Factors in Uncompleted HOPE VI Sites

HOPE VI	Heritage Crossing	Broadway Overlook	Flag House Courts
Footprint		X	X
Location		X	X
Institutional players		X	
Community involvement		X	X
Total	0/4	4/4	3/4

Beyond Baltimore

There is no single successful approach to the HOPE VI program in Baltimore, and the same conclusion applies with even greater force when moving beyond a single city. Each city has its own needs, strengths, and weaknesses. The success of HOPE VI in Louisville--where a HOPE VI development in the distressed neighborhood Park DuValle helped spur a renewal in the surrounding neighborhoods--is a good indicator that HOPE VI can be successful. But success in Louisville does not ensure success elsewhere.

The HOPE VI program could benefit from a set of broad guidelines. Based on our Baltimore research, a top candidate would be the health of the neighborhood surrounding the development, since the evidence suggests that a development may be affected by its surrounding neighborhood as much--or more--than spillovers from the development outward. For example, Pleasant View Gardens may be more affected by the redevelopment of Broadway Overlook and Flag House Courts, as well as further growth in the Central Business District, than the other way around. In cases where the neighborhoods surrounding a severely distressed public housing development are themselves in distress--which characterizes many inner-city public housing projects--the much greater challenge of generating positive spillovers from the development outward should be reflected in both the HOPE VI proposal and the grant to accomplish it. For example, a larger footprint for the redevelopment is particularly vital in these cases.

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